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**Cover illustration:** *This depiction of the Mountain Meadows Massacre appears in T. B. H. Stenhouse, Rocky Mountain Saints (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1873), following p. 426. Although numerous figures are shown falling, with presumably fatal wounds, the illustration sidesteps direct acts of violence, masking them with clouds of smoke from discharged firearms. The only woman in the foreground is being defended by her husband, while a Mormon in a suit, including a literal black hat, wrestles for control.*

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# A SEETHING CAULDRON OF CONTROVERSY: THE FIRST TRIAL OF JOHN D. LEE, 1875

*Robert H. Briggs*

TO A DEGREE NOT SEEN BEFORE OR SINCE, the American West in the second half of the nineteenth century was dominated by an extraordinary obsession with gaining wealth from gold, silver, and other precious metals. The scene in Utah was similar to that in other Western states and territories: Interest in precious metals led to an influx of Gentiles (as non-Mormons were known) into the Mormon stronghold followed by a rapid expansion in mining to tap Utah's mineral wealth. The growing collision of interests between Gentiles and Mormons in Utah was the beginning of the "troubled times" that continued until the granting of statehood in 1896 and beyond.

Perceiving that their control was waning, Mormon leaders fought back. They viewed statehood for Utah as the best antidote to growing Gentile influence, and they redoubled their efforts to achieve it. Gentiles responded by forming the Liberal Party to combat the formidable influence of the Mormon Church in political and eco-

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nomic matters. "We should have the flag of the free float over us instead of the black ensign of the Endowment," the Gentile-owned *Corinne Reporter* editorialized in 1872.

The Liberals perceived that Mormon power would become entrenched if statehood were granted while Mormons dominated Utah's affairs. Thus, the touchstone of Liberal strategy was to oppose at all costs Mormon-led efforts to obtain statehood. The efforts of Utah's Liberals drew national attention to their cause and garnered for them increasing public support outside Utah. For instance, the *New York Tribune* editorialized against Mormon efforts at statehood, asserting that the "hierarchy of morbid fanatics" would expel all Gentiles from Utah. If the "pernicious fruits of Mormonism are to be destroyed," the *Tribune* concluded, it had to be done while the Mormons were under the territorial system.<sup>1</sup>

In opposing the Mormon hierarchy, the Liberals' program had three main prongs. First, they opposed what they termed Mormon "lawlessness." Second, they opposed the "meddling" of "the Mormon priesthood" (i.e., its hierarchy) in the politics and economy of the territory. Third, they adamantly opposed the Mormon practice of polygamy. Or, as they aphoristically expressed it, they opposed a church that preached murder, robbery, and polygamy.<sup>2</sup> Edward Tullidge, a dissenting Mormon allied with the "conservative Gentiles," was a partisan in these contests yet his opinion is worth considering. Tullidge held that the Liberal anti-Mormons had "a desire for the entire overturning of the then existing state of things, and the transfer of all power into anti-Mormon hands, under the direction of Congress and the Government."<sup>3</sup>

The centerpiece of the Liberals' campaign against Mormon "lawlessness" was the 1857 massacre at Mountain Meadows. Federal prosecutors and judges, many of whom were Liberals or Liberal-leaning, were also intent on prosecuting the perpetrators of the massacre. Thus, a convergence of interests between Liberals and federal prosecutors, judges, and other federal officials brought renewed attention

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<sup>1</sup>*Corinne Reporter*, April 3, 1872; *New York Tribune*, April 30, 1872, 8, both quoted in Brigham D. Madsen, *Corinne: The Gentile Capital of Utah* (Salt Lake City: Utah State Historical Society, 1980), 84.

<sup>2</sup>*Corinne Mail*, July 29, 1875, cited in Madsen, *Corinne*, 148.

<sup>3</sup>Edward W. Tullidge, *The History of Salt Lake City and Its Founders* (Salt Lake City: n.pub., 1880), 467.

to those responsible for the massacre. This heightened attention eventually led to the arrest, prosecution, conviction, sentencing, and execution of former Mormon elder John D. Lee for his role in the massacre.

This was the context of the trial of John D. Lee, one of the great American political trials of the latter half of the nineteenth century. Of course, the Lee trial concerned the innocence or guilt of John D. Lee for his role in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. But in common with other political trials, it presented a legal proceeding with implications far beyond the guilt or innocence of the individual defendant; a case in which the fate of the accused was threatened with being overwhelmed by larger issues and conflicts; a case in which irreconcilably divided parties strenuously advanced positions to further their particular interests, all the while interpreting the trial through the prism of their interests. Along with the prosecution of Mormon polygamist George Reynolds for polygamy, the Lee trial “awakened greatest interest . . . and . . . quickened the antagonisms between Mormon and Gentile to greatest intensity.”<sup>4</sup> Seen in this broader context, the trial of John D. Lee was a pawn in the political struggle between Mormons and Liberals for the future of Utah.

That John D. Lee had been involved in the 1857 massacre at Mountain Meadows had been a notorious fact for nearly two decades. Within weeks of the massacre, some of the California newspapers had linked Lee’s name to the massacre. Further, while some massacre participants had taken a vow of silence, the voluble Lee had never been able to keep completely reticent. Less than three weeks after the massacre, Lee had made two declarations concerning it, one at a church meeting in Utah County (recorded in the meeting’s minutes), and another to Mormon leaders in Salt Lake City (recorded in Wilford Woodruff’s journal). During the 1859 federal investigation, Lee had made several brief statements to federal Indian Superintendent Jacob Forney, his traveling companion, William H. Rogers, and to frontiersman James Lynch. In the 1870s, Lee had consented to be interviewed by newspaper correspondent John Hanson Beadle at Lonely Dell, Lee’s isolated outpost at the ferry crossing on the Colorado River in northern Arizona. Beadle published this interview in 1873. In early 1875, Lee was the probable source of a publicized statement

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<sup>4</sup>Robert Joseph Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah: A Study in Religious and Social Conflict, 1862–1890* (Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1971), 97.





*John D. Lee, on trial for murder, did not testify on advice of his counsel. Ann Eliza Young, Wife No. 19, or a Life in Bondage; a Full Exposé of Mormonism (Hartford, Conn.: Dustin, Gilman, & Company, 1875), following p. 238.*

attributed to his wife, Rachel Lee.<sup>5</sup> Finally, at the outset of the first trial in mid-1875, Lee, with the assistance of legal counsel, provided a statement to the prosecution, portions of which were leaked to the newspapers.<sup>6</sup> Yet Lee's statements could not be introduced into evidence against him unless he chose to testify in his own behalf. On the advice of counsel, Lee chose not to take the stand in either of his two trials. Thus, as in most criminal trials, the focus was on whom the federal prosecutors would produce as witnesses and whether they could convincingly link John D. Lee to the brutal killings.

The first trial of John D. Lee was in the summer of 1875 and resulted in a hung jury. He was retried in 1876 and convicted of murder. My focus here is limited to the first trial, the forces leading to it, and the complex political, economic, and legal context in which it unfolded. Next, I will present an overview of the 1875 trial

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<sup>5</sup>Utah Stake Minutes, September 27, 1857, 945–46, LDS Church History Archives, quoted in David L. Bigler and Will Bagley, eds., *Innocent Blood: Essential Narratives of the Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark, 2008), 131; Wilford Woodruff Journal, Romney Transcript, 83–84, LDS Archives, quoted in Bigler and Bagley, *Innocent Blood*, 136–37; Report of Jacob Forney, August 1859, Sen. Exec. Doc. 42, “Forney’s Report,” 1859, 36 Cong., 1st sess., 74–80, and Statement of William H. Rogers, *Valley Tan*, February 29, 1860, both quoted in Juanita Brooks, *The Mountain Meadows Massacre* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1962, 1970), 253–60 and 265–78, respectively; J. H. Beadle, *The Undeveloped West; or, Five Years in the Territories: Being a Complete History of That Region [etc.]* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1873) 646–51; and Lynn R. Bailey, *A Tale of the “Unkilled”: The Life, Times and Writings of Wells W. Spicer*, Vol. 3 of *Mining Camp Chronicles* (Tucson: Westernlore Press, 1999), 59–63. Lee’s subsequent statements included the “Lee-Howard Statement,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, March 25, 1877, also quoted in Robert Kent Fielding, ed., *The Tribune Reports of The Trials of John D. Lee for the Massacre at Mountain Meadows* (Higganum, Conn.: Kent’s Books, 2000), 267–73; and his so-called “confessions” in John D. Lee, *Mormonism Unveiled; or The Life and Confessions of John D. Lee* (St. Louis, Mo.: Bryan, Brand & Company, 1877), 214, 217–59.

<sup>6</sup>Frederic Lockley, *The Lee Trials* (Salt Lake City: Tribune Printing Company, 1875) 8–9; and Ann-Eliza Young, *Wife No. 19, or the Story of a Life in Bondage, Being a Complete Exposé of Mormonism* (Hartford, Conn.: Dustin, Gilman & Company, 1875), 258–59.

itself and some of the issues and controversies surrounding it. The trial was mired in the politics of the day, requiring an examination of its political setting. To ignore the politics would be to misinterpret the trial.

In 1871, federal officials obtained the affidavit of ex-Mormon and erstwhile Mormon bishop Philip Klingensmith, then living in Nevada. It was the first published statement for attribution by any massacre participant containing a direct account of the massacre itself. Then in September 1874, federal judge Jacob S. Boreman empaneled a grand jury in Beaver, Utah, that returned a criminal indictment for murder against nine southern Utah militia leaders and participants involved in the massacre.

Those indicted, with their relevant militia and church positions and residences in 1857, were: (1) William H. Dame, Iron County militia colonel and Parowan Stake president; (2) Isaac C. Haight, lieutenant colonel and Cedar City Stake president; (3) John D. Lee, major, farmer to the Indians, and resident of Fort Harmony; (4) John M. Higbee, major and counselor in the Cedar City Stake presidency; (5) Philip K. Smith [Klingensmith], private and Cedar City bishop; (6) William C. Stewart, second lieutenant and resident of Cedar City; (7) Elliott Willden, private and resident of Cedar City; (8) Samuel Jukes, private and resident of Cedar City; and (9) George Adair Jr., private and resident of Washington.

Lee, Dame, Klingensmith, Adair, and Willden were served with the indictment and arrested. The others—Haight, Higbee, Stewart, and Jukes—fled and remained in hiding for years.

During 1875 as William C. Carey, the U.S. Attorney in Utah Territory, brought the first group of accused to trial, Philip Klingensmith turned state's evidence in exchange for leniency. Now, with Klingensmith as its star witness, the prosecution brought John D. Lee and William H. Dame to trial. Surprisingly, it was legal counsel for Lee and Dame who made the motion that both defendants be tried together. But the People, through their counsel, Carey, and his able and single-minded assistant prosecutor, Robert N. Baskin, opposed the motion on the grounds that they lacked sufficient witnesses to try both cases at once.<sup>7</sup> The motion for a joint trial was denied, and

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<sup>7</sup>Robert Newton Baskin (1837–1918) came to Utah in the mid-1860s

Dame's case was severed and postponed.<sup>8</sup> The People elected to proceed only against John D. Lee in the first trial involving the massacre defendants.

Lee's trial was held at the Second Judicial District Court in Beaver, which had been carefully chosen as the seat of the federal court for southern Utah. In 1871, Associate Justice Cyrus Hawley of the territorial court had requested that a military camp be stationed at Beaver because the "largest number of dissenting Mormons south of Salt Lake" resided there and had "craved [government] protection." In 1873, the administration of President Ulysses S. Grant established a military post there, later christened Camp Cameron.<sup>9</sup>

By 1875, Beaver and the nearby mining districts numbered several thousand inhabitants. Besides the local mining districts, Piute County to the east was home to a growing Gentile mining population. Federal officials felt they could count on local Gentiles along with ex- and disaffected Mormons as sympathetic jurors. Judge Boreman's district handled all federal prosecutions in the southern part of the territory. As Mormon journalist Scipio A. Kenner observed, there

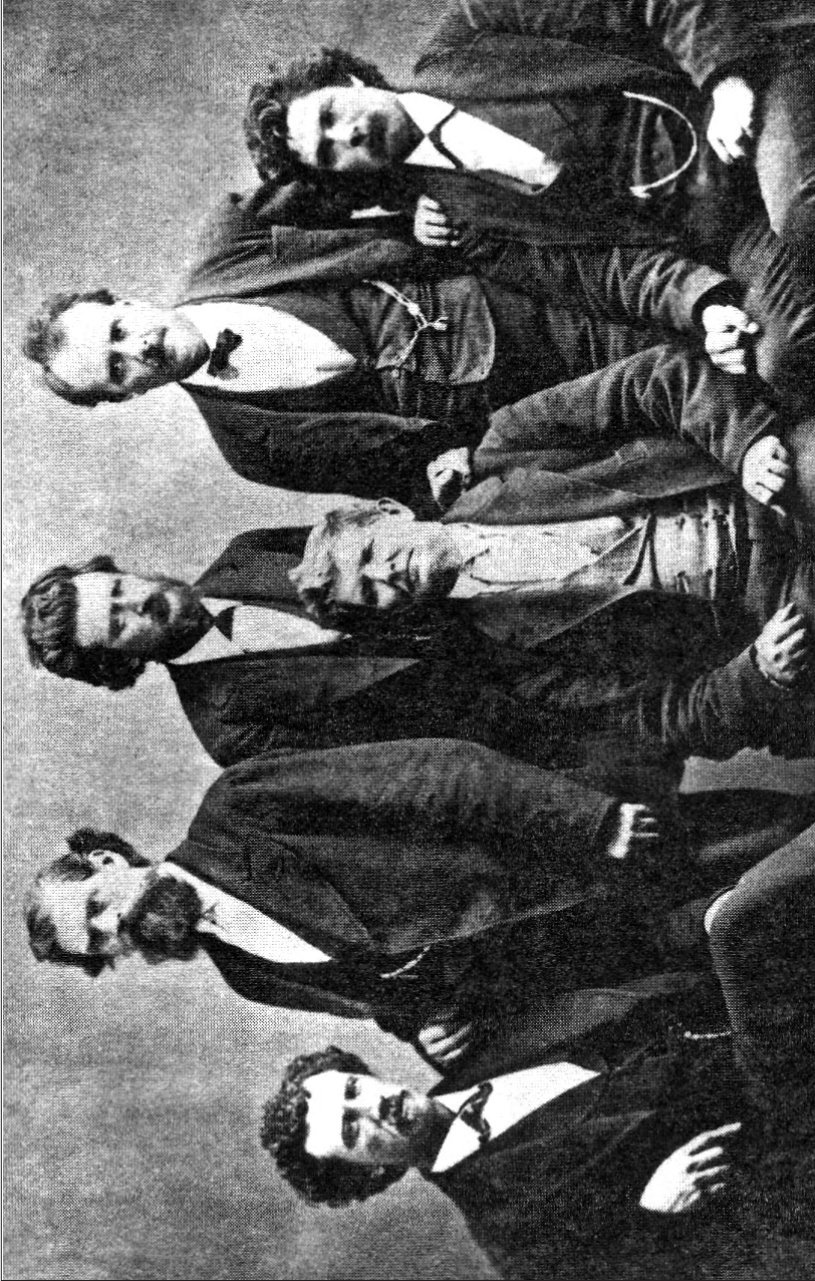
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and was galvanized into his anti-Mormon actions by the unsolved murder of Dr. J. King Robinson. Thereafter he was an unflagging opponent of Brigham Young, polygamy, and theocratic Mormonism. When U.S. Attorney Charles H. Hempstead resigned his office in the early 1870s, Judge James B. McLean appointed Baskin to succeed him in office. Baskin was the principal drafter of the Cullom Bill, a piece of antipolygamy legislation that passed the House in 1870 but failed to pass in the Senate. He ran for various political offices including territorial representative to Congress and mayor of Salt Lake. He was elected mayor and later appointed Chief Justice of the Utah Supreme Court. He published his memoir of life in Utah as *Reminiscences of Early Utah: Danites, Murder and Polygamy* (Salt Lake City: n.pub., 1914). "Though not a prophet," Baskin said in later years, "I have been profitable to the Mormon people." Robert N. Baskin, *Reply by R. N. Baskin to Certain Statements by O. F. Whitney in his History of Utah Published in 1916* ([Salt Lake City]: n.pub., 1916), 29.

<sup>8</sup>The charges against William H. Dame were eventually dropped. A successful prosecution of Dame would have required the cooperation of witnesses such as Lieutenant Colonel Isaac Haight and Major John Higbee, but they were in hiding.

<sup>9</sup>Justice Hawley, Letter to the War Department, June 3, 1871, quoted in Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah*, 98–99.





*Principal figures in Lee's first (1875) trial pose for this group photograph. Standing, left, federal Judge Jacob Boreman, and Lee's defense counsel Enos D. Hoge and Wells Spicer. Seated in the center, defendant John D. Lee flanked, left, by William Stokes, a federal deputy marshal, and, right, federal marshal George R. Maxwell. Utah State Historical Society. All rights reserved.*

was always “something doing” in Beaver “with the dragnet operating in seven widespread counties between times [of court] and all the catch landed there for trial.” Referring to the time of the Lee trials, Kenner observed that “for a time [Beaver] was really a greater storm centre than any other.”<sup>10</sup>

The trial officially began on July 11, 1875, but nearly two weeks passed with Klingensmith turning state’s evidence and the prosecutors wrangling with Lee’s defense attorneys over a possible plea bargain. When those negotiations collapsed, Boreman empaneled twelve jurymen. On July 23, the first witness was called; after testimony from twenty-eight witnesses, both sides rested on August 2. Throughout the trial, four Gentile lawyers—Jabez G. Sutherland, E. D. Hoge, Wells Spicer, and William W. Bishop—along with one Mormon lawyer—John M. Macfarlane—represented John D. Lee.

Liberal or Liberal-leaning members of the anti-Mormon “Ring” included Carey, Baskin, Boreman, and other members of the prosecution, the federal marshals, and federal officials in Utah’s executive and judicial branches. Among Lee’s defense team, Bishop and Spicer were noted Liberals.

Knowing the power of the federal onslaught that was to descend on Mormon Utah during the 1880s, it is surprising to consider just how weak, frustrated, and marginalized the Liberals felt in the mid-1870s. In the early 1870s, the Liberals were concentrated in the northern mining district of Corinne on the bank of the Bear River, west of Brigham City in Box Elder County. Their only success had come in frustrating the Mormons’ renewed application for statehood. Most of their other initiatives had been less than successful, if not outright failures. These included their efforts to have President U. S. Grant appoint their candidate as governor of the territory; to annex northern Utah to Idaho; to remove the seat of territorial government to Corinne; to oppose a territorial constitutional convention and the drafting of a proposed state constitution; to void Mormon titles to property so as to expand lands available for mining exploration; and to gain passage of federal legislation authorizing a canal company to convey water to Corinne. Further, the Liberals had been considerably hampered by a split between the Godbeite wing of their party, which opposed Mormon theocratic control of the territory but ignored the

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<sup>10</sup>S. A. Kenner, *Utah As It Is with a Comprehensive Statement of Utah As It Was* (Salt Lake City: Deseret News, 1904), 92.

issue of polygamy, and the Corinne Gentile wing, which was adamant in its opposition to the Mormon Church on both issues.<sup>11</sup>

Beginning in 1871, the judicial crusade of James B. McKean, chief justice of Utah's Supreme Court, had generated some initial successes for Liberals and conservative Gentiles alike. In McKean's courtroom, federal prosecutors had obtained the first conviction of a polygamist. Unfortunately, they had relied on the territorial adultery statute rather than the federal polygamy statute, an approach that impeded the Liberals' crusade.<sup>12</sup> McKean also presided over the criminal prosecution of, among others, Daniel H. Wells, Salt Lake City mayor and counselor in Brigham Young's First Presidency, stemming from the murder of Richard Yates at the outset of the Utah War in 1857. But in 1872, the U.S. Supreme Court curbed McKean in the appeal of *Clinton v. Englebrecht*, holding that McKean's procedural maneuverings to use the federal (that is, Gentile) marshal instead of the territorial (Mormon) marshal to seat grand and petit juries had been improper. Much to the dismay of Judge McKean and the Liberal Ring, federal criminal prosecutions came to a temporary halt in Utah because the federal statute lacked an adequate funding mechanism.<sup>13</sup>

In 1873, McKean had also presided over *Young v. Young*, the notorious alimony case of Ann Eliza Webb Young, widely known as "Wife No. 19," against her husband, Brigham Young, for alleged neglect, cruel treatment, and desertion. In a grand but imprudent gesture, McKean had harangued Brigham Young in open court, announcing that, while the proceeding was Ann Eliza Young versus

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<sup>11</sup>See generally Madsen, *Corinne*, chaps 1–3; and Tullidge, *History of Salt Lake City*, chaps. 56–58.

<sup>12</sup>Charles Carroll Goodwin, editor of the *Salt Lake Tribune* in the 1880s and a former federal judge in Nevada, concluded that Judge McKean's "sincerity, his patriotism, [and] his earnestness in discharging what he deemed to be his duty" were beyond question, but he was also "a religious fanatic" who became "obsessed of the idea that he had been sent to Utah for the sole purpose of suppressing the Mormon faith and the baiting of Mormons." C. C. Goodwin, *History of the Bench and Bar in Utah* (Salt Lake City: Interstate Press Association, 1913), 28.

<sup>13</sup>Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988) 137–46, 138, 249–50.

Brigham Young, in a larger sense its “real title [was] ‘Federal Authority versus Polygamic Theocracy.’ . . . A system is on trial in the person of Brigham Young.”<sup>14</sup> McKean awarded Ann Eliza substantial alimony, found Young in contempt of court when it was not promptly paid, and then became a laughing stock in some quarters when it became obvious that he could not order the payment of alimony in a clearly illegal marriage—which all plural marriages were under the controlling federal statute, the 1862 Morrill Act.

By 1875, McKean’s crusading machinations had become an embarrassment to the Grant administration. In March, shortly before the Lee trial opened, President Grant removed McKean as chief justice of the territory.<sup>15</sup>

Thus, as the Liberals and their allies descended on the village of Beaver in summer 1875 to commence the first criminal trial of the Mountain Meadows defendants, they were reeling from a series of stinging defeats. Yet they were hopeful, regardless of whether the trial resulted in a conviction, that it would somehow improve their political and economic fortunes in Utah.

In early July, the editor of the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, Frederic Lockley, arrived in Beaver to serve as the paper’s chief correspondent during the trial. By 1875, the *Tribune* had become the chief political organ of the Liberals in Utah. At the outset of the proceedings, Lee and his legal counsel attempted to maneuver for a plea bargain in exchange for a full confession. Historian Robert J. Dwyer concluded that the prosecution’s “scarcely veiled object” was to “extract from Lee a confession that would afford grounds for an indictment of Brigham Young himself.”<sup>16</sup> As the opposing sides thrust and parried over the content of Lee’s confession, chief prosecutor Carey continued gathering his witnesses. When the trial began, he expected to be

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<sup>14</sup>McKean, quoted in Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah*, 79–80.

<sup>15</sup>*Ibid.*, 92–93. McKean was reportedly removed for several “ill advised and tyrannical [acts], and [acting] in excess of his powers as a judge.” George R. Maxwell, one of the instigators of Ann Eliza’s alimony suit, was also replaced as registrar of the territorial land office for his “fanatical and extreme conduct.” *Deseret News*, March 16, 1875, quoted in Firmage and Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts*, 250. However, General Maxwell continued to act as federal marshal.

<sup>16</sup>Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah*, 100.



able to lay the massacre bare and “uncover the mystery.”<sup>17</sup> When it became clear that Lee’s proffered confession did not go far enough to satisfy the prosecutors, they rejected the confession and withdrew their offer of a plea bargain. Instead, they decided to try Lee for murder stemming from his role in the massacre.

In one of its first reports on the Lee proceedings, the *Tribune* enthused to its readership that “this is the most important criminal case ever tried in the United States.”<sup>18</sup> However, writing to his wife, Elizabeth, on July 17, Lockley confided that U.S. Attorney William Carey “was not the right man for the work.” Lee’s defense counsel, Jabez G. Sutherland “carries too many guns for him, and will be apt to head him at every point.”<sup>19</sup> So it was with a combination of joy and relief that Lockley noted the arrival of attorney and noted Liberal Robert N. Baskin on the evening of July 18. In his newspaper column, Lockley identified Baskin as that “distinguished criminal lawyer of Salt Lake” while another correspondent described him as “frowsy, cool and red-headed.”<sup>20</sup> Privately, Lockley confided to his wife, “Mr. Baskin’s appearance upon the scene is our salvation.” Without this “able and fearless attorney,” Lockley continued, “the prosecution would have made a complete failure of the trial. You need not mention this fact outside.”<sup>21</sup>

Beaver was “chock full of strangers,” so Lockley procured a room for five dollars a week which he shared with Baskin.<sup>22</sup> This arrangement was fortuitous for Lockley since it gave him access to inside information and insight into the prosecutors’ strategy.

Associate Justice Jacob Smith Boreman (1831–1913) was the presiding trial judge over the Second Judicial District, which had original jurisdiction over most of southern Utah. A Virginian by birth, Boreman had attended law school at the University of Virginia and then gradually moved westward. He became the city attorney in St.

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<sup>17</sup>*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, July 18, 1875, in Fielding, *Tribune Reports*, 82.

<sup>18</sup>*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, July 20, 1875, in Fielding, *Tribune Reports*, 87.

<sup>19</sup>Bigler and Bagley, *Innocent Blood*, 301.

<sup>20</sup>*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, July 20, 1875, in Fielding, *Tribune Reports*, 87; *Cincinnati Commercial*, quoted in Goodwin, *History of the Bench and Bar in Utah*, 38.

<sup>21</sup>Bigler and Bagley, *Innocent Blood*, 301–2.

<sup>22</sup>*Ibid.*, 302.

Louis and, when the Civil War erupted, helped raise a pro-Union company of militia. He served six years as a judge in Jackson County, Missouri, following which he served a term in the Missouri State Legislature. In 1873, President Grant appointed Boreman as an associate justice of the Utah Supreme Court. A devout Methodist, he was in later years a staunch supporter of the temperance movement, helping to found the Prohibition Party in Utah and running as its first candidate for governor.<sup>23</sup>

Among the “strangers” in Beaver were several dozen witnesses for the prosecution, many of whom had been served with subpoenas from Boreman’s court. Soon the judge heard that forces sympathetic to Lee were attempting to arrest Philip Klingensmith and other witnesses. Having left Utah in the 1860s, Klingensmith was now widely perceived among Mormons as a disloyal turncoat. When he and other witnesses reported that they feared for their lives, Boreman responded vigorously to uphold federal authority. From his improvised courtroom in “Thompson hall,” then “packed full of people,” Boreman issued a cease-and-desist order. Any lawyer or lawman attempting to interfere with the witnesses of the federal court “would be arrested & put in prison & kept there until they had learned better than to interfere with the business of the court.” Such “scandalous work” would cease, he thundered, and “all parties had better take warning.”<sup>24</sup>

Soon General George R. Maxwell advised Boreman of other threats he had heard to disrupt the business of the court. Maxwell was the U.S. marshal, a Civil War veteran, and a noted Liberal and “Mormon-eater.”<sup>25</sup> A correspondent had once described Maxwell as “look-

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<sup>23</sup>Goodwin, *History of the Bench and Bar*, 97; Mark Edward Lender, *Dictionary of American Temperance Biography: From Temperance Reform to Alcohol Research, the 1600s to the 1980s* (Greenport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1984), 58–59.

<sup>24</sup>Leonard J. Arrington, ed., “Crusade against Theocracy: The Reminiscences of Judge Jacob Smith Boreman of Utah, 1872–1877,” *Huntington Library Quarterly* 24, no. 1 (November 1960): 36–37.

<sup>25</sup>*Ibid.*, 38; John Gary Maxwell, *From Gettysburg to Great Salt Lake: George R. Maxwell, Civil War Hero and Federal Marshal among the Mormons* (Norman: Arthur H. Clark Co., an imprint of the University of Oklahoma Press, 2010), 218.

ing like he had overslept himself for a week and got up mad.”<sup>26</sup> The contemporary Mormon journalist, Scipio A. Kenner, described Maxwell as wanting “everybody to believe that Mormons were his favorite diet three times a day. At heart [however,] he was not half as bad as he tried to make it appear.” While his general deportment was “a long way from” that of “the typical Sunday school teacher,” he had a convivial nature and “much was overlooked in him because of his having fought bravely as a Union soldier through the civil war and been literally shot to pieces.”<sup>27</sup>

Apparently faced with another threat to judicial authority, Boreman instructed his intrepid marshal to “go out amongst the people & hint to them that they might find everybody about the court ready to meet them, [then] the people might conclude that it would not be so easy as they had supposed to clear out [the] court.” The judge later learned that Maxwell had gone into the midst of the assembled crowd and delivered a blunt speech strewn profusely with oaths, the gist of which was: “Now, we are ready! Come on! We were not ready at first, but now we are ready to meet you! Come on & do your best & we will hang every G\_\_ d\_\_\_\_d Bishop to a telegraph post & tie their hands over their heads! We’ll show them who is going to run things down here!”<sup>28</sup>

After Maxwell had reestablished the court’s authority to Boreman’s satisfaction, the judge turned to the task of empaneling a jury. As in all high-profile cases, the composition of the jury was a matter

<sup>26</sup>Quoted in Goodwin, *History of the Bench and Bar in Utah*, 38.

<sup>27</sup>Kenner, *Utah as It Is*, 88. In later years, Maxwell enjoyed telling a story on himself from the days when he had traveled with Judge Boreman. One night they were traveling together in a mail stage bound for Salt Lake City. Maxwell had a taste for the bottle, a habit that he tried to hide from the teetotaling Methodist judge. When Maxwell’s fumbling for his bottle aroused the sleeping judge, Maxwell explained that he was looking for “eggs” from his “lunch.” Later when Maxwell’s continued fumbling aroused the judge a second time, Boreman could perceive in the moonlight Maxwell’s hand grasping the neck of a bottle. “Well, well, General,” the judge exclaimed, “that is the first time in my life when I heard of any body carry[ing] eggs in a bottle.” Caught red-handed, Maxwell obligingly offered Boreman a drink. But the abstaining judge declined, saying he could not “rob him of his lunch.” Arrington, “Crusade against Theocracy,” 38.

<sup>28</sup>Arrington, “Crusade against Theocracy,” 38. I have supplied punctuation and capitalization. Maxwell, *George R. Maxwell*, 218.

of the greatest interest. From the outset it was apparent to all that a jury composed of both Mormons and Gentiles might generate irreconcilable conflict among them, resulting in a hung jury. When the jury was finally empaneled, it was composed of eight Mormons and four Gentiles, one of the latter being a “Jack-Mormon.”<sup>29</sup> As predicted, the jury’s composition would have a major impact on the outcome of the trial.

It is not known exactly when the federal prosecutors formed their overarching strategy; but with the benefit of hindsight, it is clear what their strategy was, and it seems likely that Carey and Baskin conceived of their plan early on. First, they sought a broad investigation, one that would reach far beyond the usual focus of a criminal trial—that is, the guilt or innocence of the accused. Specifically, they sought to investigate the links in the chain of militia command stretching from southern to northern Utah. The big fish they sought to implicate was George A. Smith, apostle and counselor in the First Presidency, who had traveled through southern Utah several weeks before the massacre. If they could implicate Smith, it would be but a short step to implicate Brigham Young himself.

They also recognized that a hung jury was likely, perhaps even inevitable, since the twelve-man jury empaneled in Beaver would likely fail to reach a unanimous verdict, given that four of the jurors were Gentiles, three of them strongly tilted in the prosecution’s favor.<sup>30</sup> Further, they were keenly aware of the intense interest the trial had generated in the territory and the country at large, and they sought to capitalize on the anticipated favorable press coverage. Their evidence would be presented not only before the jury but also “before the world,” Lockley reported in the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*.<sup>31</sup> They foresaw the political capital they would gain if the evidence revealed the horrors of the massacre, even if the jury failed to convict Lee. The proceeding, as they conceived of it, would be a political show trial.

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<sup>29</sup>During the “troubulous times” between the 1870s and 1890s when polarization between Gentiles and Mormons was at its highest, “Jack Mormon” was an epithet hurled at any Gentile suspected of harboring friendly feelings toward the Mormons.

<sup>30</sup>After the jury was seated on July 22, 1876, Lockley reported, “It is not likely a verdict will be found.” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, July 23, 1875, in Fielding, *Tribune Reports*, 97.

<sup>31</sup>Quoted in Fielding, *Tribune Reports*, 97.

The prosecutors' specific strategy was to make the Lee trial into a referendum on the tyranny and corruption of the Mormon hierarchy and the fanaticism of its deluded followers. Correspondents from Utah Territory and the East and West coasts followed the trial and made periodic reports via telegraph. Territorial newspapers such as the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, the *Salt Lake Daily Herald*, and the *Deseret News* covered the proceedings, but so did the national press.

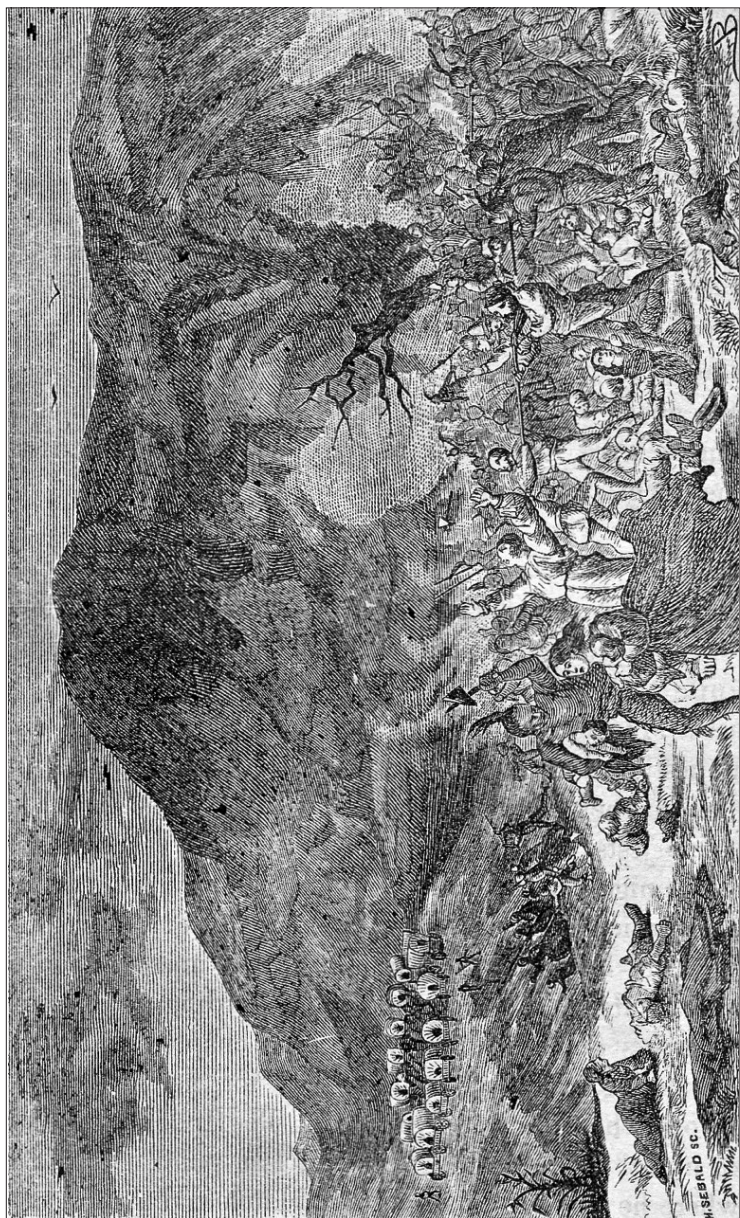
Prosecutors Carey and Baskin had concluded that the worst that could happen was a hung jury, leading to a second trial of Lee. The Mountain Meadows affair would drag on with future prosecutions of others implicated in the massacre. The firestorm of embarrassing publicity engendered by the first Lee trial would continue unabated. The Liberal Ring would watch with glee while Mormon officials witnessed the political support for their long-sought bid for statehood steadily eroding. Thus, there was much more at stake in the Lee trial than his guilt or innocence. Indeed, at stake was political control of Utah Territory, the dismantling of Mormon theocracy, and economic control of the Great Basin's mineral wealth. Or, as the *Nevada State Journal* bluntly put it, "The Mormon polity is at stake in this trial." One week later the *Journal* restated its argument in a partisan broadside: The facts revealed in the trial would "cause a revolution in Mormonism and no doubt will hasten the time when this hideous nest of corruption will be blotted from the face of the earth."<sup>32</sup>

On July 23, 1875, the trial began with prosecutor William Carey's opening statement, followed by preliminary testimony from two witnesses. Then the prosecution dramatically called Philip Klingensmith, former bishop in Cedar City under Cedar City's stake president, Isaac C. Haight. After preliminaries, Baskin elicited from Klingensmith the setting for the 1857 massacre in southern Utah. Klingensmith described the preparations in southern Utah for war with the approaching federal troops in summer 1857. Slowly and methodically, the prosecutor laid out the passage of the emigrants through Cedar City and the decision to harass them; the first attack on Monday, September 7, 1857; the muster of additional militiamen, including Klingensmith, to Mountain Meadows; and the fateful Thursday evening council meeting that sealed the doom of the emigrants. Fi-

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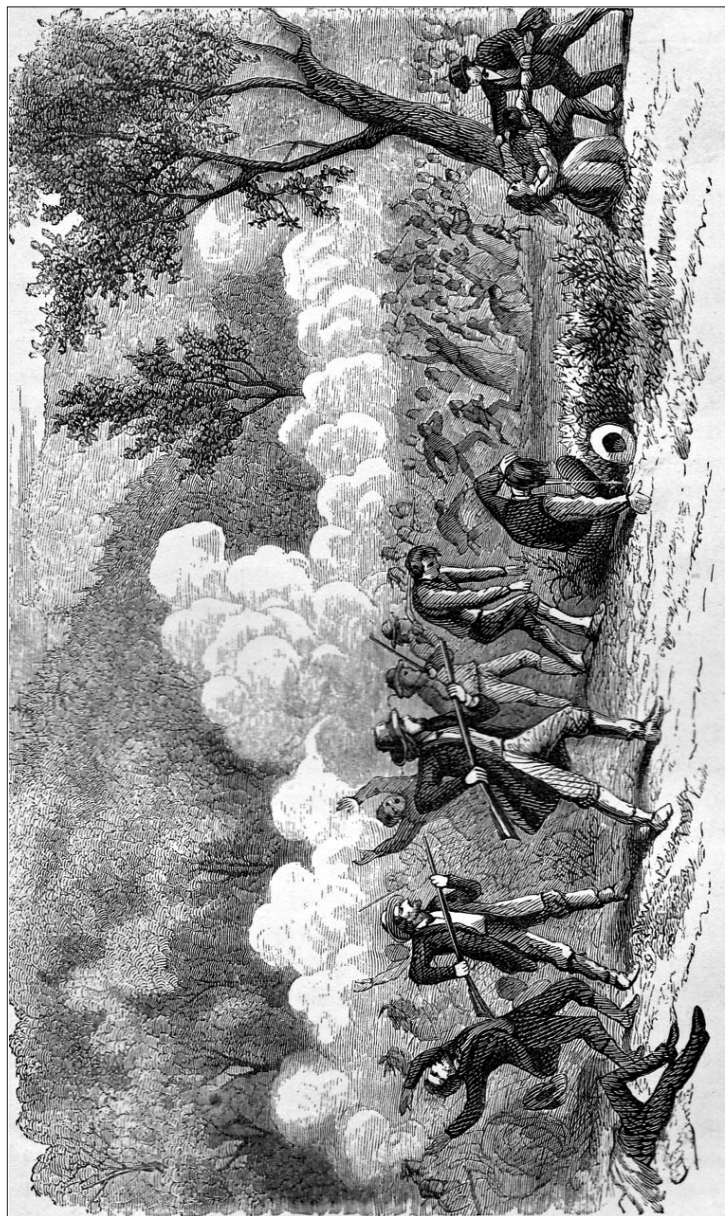
<sup>32</sup>"Mountain Meadow Atrocity," *Nevada State Journal*, July 31, 1875, 2; "Mountain Meadow Massacre," *Weekly Nevada State Journal*, August 7, 1875, 2.





*This illustration strikes a note of pathos by centering on a young woman, fleeing with her child in her arms and about to be hacked down by a tomahawk. A panorama of slaughters unfolds in the background. J. H. Beadle, The Mysteries and Crimes of Mormonism (Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1870), following p. 182. It also appears in his 1882 and 1904 editions.*





*This illustration sidesteps direct acts of violence, although numerous figures are shown falling with presumably fatal wounds. The only woman in the foreground is being defended by her husband, while a Mormon in a suit, including a literal black hat, wrestles for control. Clouds of smoke from discharged firearms conceal most details in the background. T. B. H. Stenhouse, Rocky Mountain Saints (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1873), following p. 426.*

nally, Klingensmith described in horrific detail the slaughter on Friday, September 11, 1857.

To readers today, now familiar with the massacre, Klingensmith's testimony yields few revelations. But in 1875, it was by turns thrilling, shocking, and electrifying. Although Klingensmith had given a short statement in 1871, no one had ever given such a detailed account of the massacre and certainly not in public, under oath, and under the watchful eye of the national press. Telegraphic reports from Beaver provided nearly instantaneous transmission of news to the world beyond Utah.

The telegraph had arrived in Salt Lake City in 1861; and in the latter part of that decade it was extended, first to the north, then to the south so that by the late 1860s, it had reached as far as St. George and, in 1871, to the mining district in Pioche, Nevada. The coming of the telegraph had meant "at last instantaneous communication with the world at large. The news no longer bore the date of several days previously, but of the same day, and not infrequently the same hour relatively as when received."<sup>33</sup>

But the Lee trial dramatically illustrated that the reverse was also true: News in Utah now flowed virtually instantaneously throughout the nation. Newspaper correspondents observed the daily court proceedings and hastily scrawled notes of their stories. At the end of each day, after Judge Boreman gavelled the proceedings to a halt, the correspondents rushed to the Beaver telegraph office to send their dramatic stories to newspaper offices around the country. In distant newspaper offices, editors made decisions on the length and location of the story. Then the type was set, the newspapers were printed in the wee hours of the following day, and readers in every state in the nation could peruse the previous day's testimony over their bacon and eggs.

Press coverage of the Lee trial typically carried the headline "Mountain Meadow Massacre" or "Lee Trial." Before the Klingensmith story broke, press coverage had been lively but relatively brief. During the summer of 1875, newspaper dailies were also covering the Democratic and Republican political primaries, the death of former U.S. President Andrew Johnson, the winners and losers in the new American pastime of baseball, business and market news, and, of course, crime. Many dailies had carried stories covering the prelimi-

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<sup>33</sup>Kenner, *Utah as It Is*, 213, 215.



naires of the Lee trial and the legal maneuvering surrounding Lee's bid to turn state's evidence. But with the first day of trial and the Klingensmith bombshell, many dailies devoted several front-page columns to the story. The *Morning Oregonian* in Portland carried a first-person summary of Klingensmith's testimony in two and one-half columns. It also reported that press representation in the Utah village of Beaver had expanded to nine newspapers. For days thereafter, the *Oregonian* summarized the testimony of the prosecution witnesses.<sup>34</sup>

Of course, the large metropolitan dailies reported widely on the Lee trial, but even small local or regional dailies such as the *Sedalia [Missouri] Daily Democrat* carried the story. On July 24, under the headline, "The Mountain Meadow Murder" and "Full Particulars of the Trial," the *Democrat* carried Klingensmith's revelations from the day before in the front-page section beside other telegraphically transmitted stories.<sup>35</sup> In the adjoining state of Illinois, the *Decatur Daily Republican* carried a very similar story under the headlines, "Mountain Meadows—The Sickening Story Coming Out—Evidence of Phil. K. Smith—Hints as to the Real Criminal." The story continued the following week under the headline, "More Details of the Horrible Mountain Meadow Massacre" and "Progress of the Mormon Trial."<sup>36</sup> The *Steubenville [Ohio] Daily Herald* carried the same lengthy story and concluded with this description of the mood in the trial: "During the time Klingensmith was testifying, giving these horrible details of blood, the suspense was terribly painful. Lee's square, hard, low-browed face and neck became fairly purple and black and his wives scarcely breathed, straining forward to catch every syllable." Two days

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<sup>34</sup>See these *Morning Oregonian* articles: "Mountain Meadows Massacre—Trial of Lee—Horrible Tale of Treachery and Murder [etc.]," July 26, 1875, 1; "Justice Long Delayed," July 27, 1875, 2; "Mountain Meadows Massacre—Trial of John D. Lee—Evidence for the Prosecution Continued," July 28, 1875, 1; "Mountain Meadows Massacre," July 29, 1875, 1; "Mountain Meadows Massacre—A Dilatory Motion Fails," July 30, 1875, 1.

<sup>35</sup>"The Mountain Meadow Murder—Full Particulars of the Trial," *Sedalia [Missouri] Daily Democrat*, July 24, 1875, 1.

<sup>36</sup>"Mountain Meadows—The Sickening Story Coming Out—Evidence of Phil. K. Smith—Hints as to the Real Criminal," *Decatur [Illinois] Daily Republican*, July 24, 1875, 2; "More Details of the Horrible Mountain Meadow Massacre," *ibid.*, July 27, 1875, 2; "Progress of the Mormon Trial," *ibid.*, July 28, 1875, 2.

later the Steubenville paper editorialized: "If those Mormon witnesses keep on telling the truth about that Mountain Meadows massacre[,] old Brigham Young may have occasion to wish that he had died naturally, when he was sick last winter."<sup>37</sup> But during the trial itself, the testimony was so sensational that most papers felt little need to embellish. For the most part, they stuck to straightforward reporting.<sup>38</sup>

While the whole nation learned of the progress of the trial through news carried via telegraph, the jurors in the trial were sequestered. Deputy Marshal William Stokes allowed his charges to take a walk each morning and evening through the streets of Beaver, but otherwise they were kept in isolation. They were not allowed to read newspapers and their correspondence was opened and read. The *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* would later compliment General Maxwell for his careful management of the jury. "Their every move was under the General's eye; from early morning till late at night he was right there."<sup>39</sup>

The attorneys spent their days in court and their evenings preparing for the next day. However, the pace was more relaxed on weekends. On Saturday evening, July 31, two of Lee's counsel, William Bishop and Wells Spicer, attended a "rousing" Liberal Party rally and "delivered stirring speeches" for the Liberal cause. General Maxwell also spoke to the crowd at the outdoor meeting.<sup>40</sup> Maxwell and Robert Baskin were longtime political allies in the Liberal Party. And even though they opposed one another in the courtroom, prosecutors Baskin and Carey and Lee's defense counsel, Bishop and Spicer, had similar political views where Mormon theocracy was concerned, views shared by Judge Jacob Boreman.

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<sup>37</sup>"A Tale of Horror—The Mountain Meadow Massacre Trial Opened—Testimony of Klingensmith, One of the Participants," *Steubenville [Ohio] Daily Herald*, July 24, 1875, 1; *ibid.*, July 26, 1875, 1.

<sup>38</sup>Of course, when the trial ended, many of them unleashed the full force of their editorial guns against the Mormon leaders.

<sup>39</sup>"The Case of the Defense," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, August 3, 1875, quoted in Fielding, *Tribune Reports*, 151; the quotation is from "The Marshals," *ibid.*, August 8, 1875, in Fielding, *Tribune Reports*, 179.

<sup>40</sup>"Brigham's Yarn Analyzed," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, August 5, 1875, quoted in Fielding, *Tribune Reports*, 157. Cyrus Hawley, associate justice of the Utah Supreme Court, was also present and delivered a speech.

During the extended trial, the federal prosecution called some twenty witnesses; the defense recalled three prosecution witnesses as well as calling eight additional witnesses. To Judge Boreman goes credit for the broad swath of evidence preserved for the historical record. He allowed the prosecution broad latitude in presenting relevant, borderline-relevant, and even wholly irrelevant evidence in response to the charges contained in the indictment against Lee. Included in the testimony is evidence bearing on a number of significant subjects: The contacts of Gentile travelers with the Arkansas company as far north as Emigration Canyon, east of Salt Lake City; the travelers' wagons, oxen, mules, horses, and loose stock; conflicting witness statements about emigrants' conduct toward the Mormons and, similarly, the extent of Mormon trade with the emigrants; conflict between the Arkansas company and local settlers in Cedar City; contradictory recollections concerning Mormon council meetings in Cedar; directives to Indian interpreters in Cedar City, Pinto, Santa Clara, and Washington to incite local Paiutes to gather at Mountain Meadows and attack the emigrant train; the four-day siege of the train; quarrels and conflict among the militia's "leading men" at the Mountain Meadows about the course to be taken; the fateful, crazed, and tragic decision to "use up" the emigrant train; the slaughter of all men, women, and children except those too young to "tell tales"; mopping up after the massacre and the oaths of secrecy; collecting the surviving children and dispersing them among the Mormon community; taking the property to the tithing office at Cedar City; selling the property at auction; and finally, the strenuous but ultimately ineffectual efforts at secrecy and cover-up by blaming local Paiutes and concealing white involvement.

The federal prosecutors' case had many strengths but also significant weaknesses. For instance, while Lee was *alleged* to have been the first white man on the grounds and to have led the Paiutes in four days of intermittent attacks, there was no effective testimony on this point. More importantly, there was no direct testimony about Lee's role during the final massacre. Immediately before the massacre, the column of emigrants and militiamen had emerged from the emigrants' wagon circle and moved northward toward the far end of the Meadows. At the front of the column, considerably ahead and out of view of the others, were John D. Lee and two wagons with small children and some of those wounded in the earlier attacks. The women and older children trailed some distance behind. The men of the emi-

grant camp, shadowed by Iron County militiamen, brought up the rear. While several militiamen in the column and several more who remained in the militia camp testified at length concerning their varying perspectives on the actual massacre, none of those who testified had been near enough to Lee to describe his actions. Therefore, Lee's capable team of defense counsel argued that there was "reasonable doubt" of Lee's guilt.

This highly charged political trial had obvious ramifications for both Gentile and Mormon interests in Utah. It would be naive to suppose that Gentile and Mormon jurymen were unaware of these ramifications or unswayed by their own religious and political predilections and biases. Yet considering the evidence dispassionately and in light of the high burden of proving Lee's guilt "beyond a reasonable doubt," it is easy to see how any reasonable jury could have divided on the question of Lee's innocence or guilt. There was substantial evidence of Lee's complicity in the massacre. Yet what the first trial lacked was sufficient evidence to prove beyond any reasonable doubt that Lee *gave* the murderous orders as opposed to merely *obeying* them.

The trial ended in a hung jury, with three of the four Gentiles voting for conviction and all the Mormons for acquittal. Why wasn't the prosecution able to convince even one Mormon juror to vote for conviction? To answer that question we must consider the remarkable summation of assistant prosecutor Robert N. Baskin.

At 2:00 P.M. on Tuesday, August 3, 1875, Judge Boreman read his instructions to the jury. Then legal counsel began offering their final arguments. U.S. Attorney William Carey commenced for the prosecution, concisely summarizing the people's case in thirty minutes. In contrast, Jabez Sutherland for the defense presented a four-hour speech. Sutherland argued until 5:00 P.M. when Judge Boreman adjourned for the day. Sutherland resumed the following morning, continuing his attack on the credibility of Philip Klingensmith, the prosecution's chief witness. Then two more of Lee's attorneys followed, E. D. Hoge and William Bishop. Bishop argued for four hours, also attacking Philip Klingensmith and contending that reasonable doubt existed about Lee's guilt.<sup>41</sup>

Finally, on Thursday, August 5, assistant prosecutor Robert Baskin rose to present the final prosecution argument in a speech stretch-

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<sup>41</sup>"The Lee Trial—Judge Boreman's Charge to the Jury, [etc.]," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, August 4, 1875, in Fielding, *Tribune Reports*, 161–75.

ing over five hours.<sup>42</sup> The courtroom was crowded with mostly Mormon spectators, but also present were some Gentiles and “many ladies,” all of whom listened in “complete quiet.”<sup>43</sup>

By nineteenth-century standards, Robert Baskin was a talented orator, capable of powerful rhetorical flourishes. In one of his memorable jury colloquies, he described the tortured demeanor of some of the Mountain Meadows militiamen. Referring to the oldest militiaman who had testified, William (“Billy”) Young (sometimes referred to as “Old Mr. Young”), Baskin remarked that the

pitiable old man had paid his penalty; because out from society, secluded on the borders of civilization for these eighteen years, I have no doubt [that] he has run from every shadow; his bedside has been haunted by the phantoms of these innocent babes.

They appeared to him in his dreams and have shaken their gory locks before him, and no doubt, he has often fled from these frightful phantoms, but all in vain. It is the law of God . . . [that] from such a crime, from such infamy, from such condemnation, there is no escape. In the dark recesses and in the caves in the mountains, in the dark cellars and on the way in the sleeping hours these scenes must have been present with these men and the proof of it is that it has stamped it on their very countenances. Every one of them who came upon this stand showed that they had lived a life of misery while watching, secreting and hiding. Yes, John D. Lee, during these long eighteen years which has elapsed since that terrible massacre, guilt has been the dread chambermaid that has lighted him to bed as he drew his midnight curtains around him with his fingers red with blood.<sup>44</sup>

Baskin spent most of his time refuting the arguments of the three

<sup>42</sup>“The Lee Trial—R.N. Baskin’s Closing Address to the Jury,” *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, August 6, 1875, quoted in Fielding, *Tribune Reports*, 175–78.

<sup>43</sup>Fielding, *Tribune Reports*, 175.

<sup>44</sup>Boreman Collection, Book 10, 80–81. Unless otherwise noted, the following quotations from Baskin’s summation are cited parenthetically by volume and page. A final, fully corrected trial transcript has never been produced. Where necessary I have silently corrected spelling and added punctuation to this “rough” transcript. Although typewritten, the rough transcript contains many interlineations and typographical errors. In recent years, some scholars have challenged its reliability, and work is ongoing to compare all of the extant versions. I applaud these efforts. However, there is little doubt that the transcript in the Jacob Boreman Collection sub-

defense counsel who had preceded him. But like most trial lawyers' arguments, Baskin also sought to develop broader themes and explain the larger meaning of the trial. In this aspect of his presentation, Baskin chose to provoke the Mormon jurymen and spectators. Addressing the question of why prosecution of the Mountain Meadows defendants had been delayed for eighteen years, Baskin blamed the delay on his favorite adversary, the Mormon theocracy. "When they had all the facilities in their own hands to do it, [they] would not punish . . . the perpetrators of certain crimes, amongst which is this, most horrible of all crimes, the Mountain Meadows massacre." Warming to the subject of the Mormon theocracy, Baskin continued, "Gentlemen . . . I allude to [the Mormon theocracy] as responsible for this heinous crime." He was careful not to blame all Mormons, some of whom were "honorable, good, honest men." But he arraigned the "[Mormon] system and [held] it responsible as accessories before the fact" (10:7–8).

Baskin reminded the jurymen that the "eyes of the whole civilized world" were upon them (10:9). Later, Baskin asked rhetorically why none of the militiamen involved in the massacre had prevented or even protested the killings. Answering his own question, Baskin argued that it was because "when they became a member of the [Mormon] Church . . . they laid down their manhood; they laid down their individuality" (10:23). Thereafter, Baskin relied repeatedly on this trope.

During Klingensmith's testimony, the former Mormon bishop had acknowledged that, in Utah's early period, certain men had been "put out of the way." "If men were to be put away," Baskin contended, "[Klingensmith] would know it as a bishop, and Klingensmith at that time was a bishop." Coming from that source, he stressed, it is "a more severe arraignment of the Mormon Church than any I have made! . . . My God!" Baskin exclaimed, "What an arraignment of the Mormon Church coming from that source!" (10:37–38).

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stantially captures the core of Robert Baskin's summation. The *Salt Lake Tribune* prepared a summary of the trial that included a paraphrase of Baskin's summation. It was also widely reported in newspapers throughout the nation. Years later, Baskin included portions of the *Tribune's* paraphrase of his closing in his memoir, *Reminiscences of Early Utah: Danites, Murder & Polygamy*, 132–36. Comparing all of these with the trial transcript reveals some differences in wording but agreement on Baskin's themes and the substance of his arguments.

Baskin himself later noted that his audience “had been ready to jeer and hoot,” so evidently his verbal assault had provoked his Mormon listeners exceedingly. Yet if the Mormon jurymen and audience were not already sufficiently provoked, Baskin returned to a favorite theme: the Church’s guilt for the massacre with, as an added flourish, the pathos of the surviving children. He trumpeted:

I arraign Brigham Young, first, as an accessory of this murder, because considering the power he had over this people, the position in the Territory he had over them—no man, bishop, nor any other person or head of the Mormon Church would have dared to have taken such an important step to do such an heinous act, if he hadn’t a direct or implied sanction of the head of the Church. . . . Then I arraign Brigham Young as accessory before the fact of this assassination. I arraign him as having violated his oath of office. . . . I arraign him for having quietly sat by and seen these little children made orphans of. I arraign him as having been accessory to the robbery of these infant children.

Instead of rallying to the children’s relief, Brigham Young had suffered “the fathers and mothers and friends of these little children to be butchered like dogs by savages and white men combined. And then when the news is carried to him of that ruthless butchery, his advice is to go back and take charge of the property” and distribute it to the Indians involved in the massacre. “And the evidence shows that his advice was complied with” (10:58–59).

“If it implicates the Mormon Church,” Baskin thundered, “it is not the fault of this prosecution.” It would be unjust to hold all Mormons responsible, Baskin repeated, but he wished “to explain it explicitly: I do hold Brigham Young responsible. I do hold the system which has carried [it] out and which teaches and carries out . . . the shedding of human blood to atone for real or imaginary offenses. I hold—I arraign this iniquitous system and the leaders of the Church!” (10:60–61).

Baskin alluded to the Mormon jurymen’s allegiance to the oaths they took in the Mormon Endowment House. Some of them, Baskin knew, “had been through that dark iniquitous hole in which some terrible oaths were administered, in which men have something done to them that destroys their individuality; [that] makes them blind as bats” (10:62).

Addressing himself to the Mormon jurors, Baskin said he did not expect them to vote for conviction. Then he actually *directed* them to vote for acquittal. “If there is anyone of your number on this jury



who is a member of that Church, I don't expect any verdict from any such man. . . . In other words, if there is any member of this jury that has the endowment garments upon him which he received when he goes through this iniquitous institution—this grease vat—wherein he takes these oaths at that place—where he lays down his individuality—there cannot be a case [against Lee]. No testimony can be made," Baskin concluded, "that will induce a man as long as he is under that influence to find a verdict of guilty, and I don't expect it" (10:64).

"In God's name, why did [Philip Klingensmith and Joel White, two principal witnesses] not object?" (10:78) Baskin asked rhetorically. "Simply because they were in an organization which had made them serfs; nay, more, which had made them criminals, which had made them cowards and destroyed their manhood; yes, which had made them craven cowards; and they were lower than the Indians, their confederates" (10:79).

Rising to his peroration, Baskin boomed, "It was by virtue of that system; by virtue of some development I do not understand that is inflicted upon the officers and many of the members of that Church that makes them cowards; and under its influence they come and go as their leaders crook their fingers, just as they are directed. That is the only explanation of it." Ignoring John D. Lee, the defendant actually on trial and whose life was at stake, Baskin blamed the massacre on the Mormon Church. "You may call it persecution or you may call it what you please," Baskin concluded. "But these are the deductions derived from the facts. . . . Who consented to this infamy? The leaders of this people, the leaders of this abominable institution who consummated and took part in the destruction of innocent women and children" (10:79).

Baskin's summation was the last of the attorneys' arguments. With his words ringing in their ears, the jurymen retired to begin their deliberations the next morning.

Baskin's argument was designed to appeal to Gentiles and antagonize Mormons. To the Mormons, Baskin presented two highly inflammatory arguments. First, Mormon men had given up their manhood when they went through the Endowment House. They were bound by their Endowment House oaths to obey their leaders. They were nothing more than "craven cowards," "criminals," "serfs," and "slaves." It was impossible that such men could find Lee guilty, and Baskin did not expect it.

The second argument was based on Baskin's assertion that sym-



bolically the entire Mormon hierarchy was on trial. Essentially, Baskin argued, a vote to convict John D. Lee of the Mountain Meadows Massacre was equivalent to finding the Mormon hierarchy guilty of the massacre. Or, as Leonard J. Arrington later concluded, "To convict [Lee] would have been tantamount to [the jurymen] convicting themselves."<sup>45</sup> Baskin's argument was contradictory, but politically astute. His design was to induce Gentile jurors to vote for conviction and, at the same time, compel Mormon jurors to vote for acquittal. It succeeded brilliantly. The Mormon jurors were "very much incensed," the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* reported, by Baskin's "violent arraignment of the Church."<sup>46</sup>

Having insulted the Mormons in every conceivable way, Baskin's provocative summation had the desired effect. The jurymen began deliberating on Friday, August 6, but the following morning, J. C. Heister, the jury foreman and a Gentile living in Piute County, reported to Judge Boreman that they were hopelessly divided on the question of Lee's guilt. Boreman had them continue deliberating throughout the day. However, by 5:00 P.M. they were still irreconcilably deadlocked. Heister and eight Mormons voted for acquittal. The three remaining Gentiles voted for conviction.<sup>47</sup> Finding that he had a hung jury, Boreman declared a mistrial and excused the jurymen.

John D. Lee was imprisoned again in Beaver and later transferred to Salt Lake City to await retrial. William Carey was later succeeded as U.S. Attorney for Utah by Sumner Howard who would pursue a new strategy in prosecuting the defendants indicted for complicity in the Mountain Meadows Massacre. Thus, Carey and Baskin did not participate in the second Lee trial which commenced in Sep-

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<sup>45</sup>Arrington, "Crusade against Theocracy," 43 note 60.

<sup>46</sup>"After the Trial," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, August 11, 1875, quoted in Fielding, *Tribune Reports*, 184.

<sup>47</sup>"The Verdict," *Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, August 8, 1875; and "Disagreement of the Jury," *ibid.*, August 10, 1875, both in Fielding, *Tribune Reports*, 178 and 182–83, respectively. Adding to the confusion about how the jurymen had cast their votes, the *Tribune* reported that "from the beginning of the balloting, the jury stood nine for acquittal, two for conviction, and one willing to go either way—classified thus: For acquittal, all the Mormons, and one Gentile, one Gentile wavering and two Gentiles for conviction." Fielding, *Tribune Reports*, 178.

tember 1876. The second trial was characterized by entirely different issues, controversies, misunderstandings, and outcome. It ended in the conviction of John D. Lee for murder and, after his appeals were exhausted, his execution by firing squad on March 23, 1877, at Mountain Meadows. But that is another story.

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Did Robert Baskin really intend to hold the Mormon Church responsible for the Mountain Meadows Massacre in the first trial? Was his true intent to divide the jury? Clearly, he wanted the Gentile jurors to vote for Lee's conviction. But did he really want the Mormon jurors to vote *for acquittal*? What possible advantage would that achieve?

The answer lies in the candid correspondence of Frederic Lockley to his wife, Elizabeth. The *Tribune's* editor and Baskin's roommate during the weeks of trial kept Elizabeth informed of Baskin's intention. On July 31, near the close of the presentation of evidence but five full days before Baskin's final argument, Lockley wrote his wife that Baskin "intends to make a scathing arraignment of Brigham Young." It was also clear that "the most we can hope for is a divided jury." And that was precisely the result Carey, Baskin, and Lockley wished for. "Strange to say," Lockley continued, "we are all hoping this will be the result." Referring to the Poland Law, a piece of federal legislation passed in 1874 that restricted the jurisdiction of the Mormon probate courts and expanded that of the federal courts—but also required that jury lists have an equal number of Mormons and Gentiles—Lockley explained the prosecution's rationale. Since "the attention of the whole country is directed to this trial," he reasoned, "if the jury fails to convict, it will render the insufficiency of the Poland bill so manifest, that Congress cannot fail to give us additional legislation at the next session."<sup>48</sup>

More than six months before, the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* had announced the Liberals' intention and predicted that the trial would

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<sup>48</sup>Lockley, quoted in Bigler and Bagley, *Innocent Blood*, 303. William Nelson, the Gentile federal marshal at the time of Lee's conviction in his second trial in 1876, also believed that had been Baskin's intention. In a letter dated September 22, 1876, to U.S. Attorney General Alphonso Taft, Nelson said that the prosecutors in the first Lee trial had publicly boasted that their purpose "was not . . . convicting the prisoner, but to fix the odium

reveal the massacre to the “effulgence of daylight” and that it would be “published so widely to the world, that [Mormon leaders] will be condemned by public opinion.”<sup>49</sup> That strategy had succeeded brilliantly. During the otherwise slow summer months of 1875, the dramatic trial had transfixed the nation. The Liberals were able to exploit the fact that, despite the strong evidence of Lee’s wrongdoing, the jury had failed to convict him. And the fact that not a single Mormon juror voted for conviction reinforced the widely held perception that the Mormon masses were dupes of the Church hierarchy.

With a hung jury and all the Mormon jurors voting for acquittal, the *Salt Lake Daily Tribune* followed the plan that Lockley had outlined in his letter to his wife. Noting that the Poland Act required an equal number of Mormons and Gentiles on the jury lists, the *Tribune* criticized Mormons as unreliable jurors. Their conduct in the jury box “shows their utter unfitness for the exercise of any such trust. . . . Mr. Baskin hit the nail on the head in his closing argument for the people. ‘If there is a man on this jury,’ said he, ‘who has been through that sink of iniquity—the Endowment House, and wears endowment garments on his limbs, he will not find a verdict according to the law and the testimony.’”<sup>50</sup>

True to the Liberals’ plan, the *Tribune* soon called for new legislation to restrict Mormons from sitting on juries. “The palpable unfitness of the Latter-day Saints,” the *Tribune* concluded, “to sit in the jury box while they submit to the domination of their ecclesiastical masters, is now shown so convincingly to the world that the necessity of legislation by Congress to amend our unwise jury laws is recognized by all.”<sup>51</sup>

Carey, Baskin, and the Liberals also benefited from their opponents’ tactical errors. At the outset of the trial someone, probably one of Lee’s defense counsel, had placed a story that ran in many newspa-

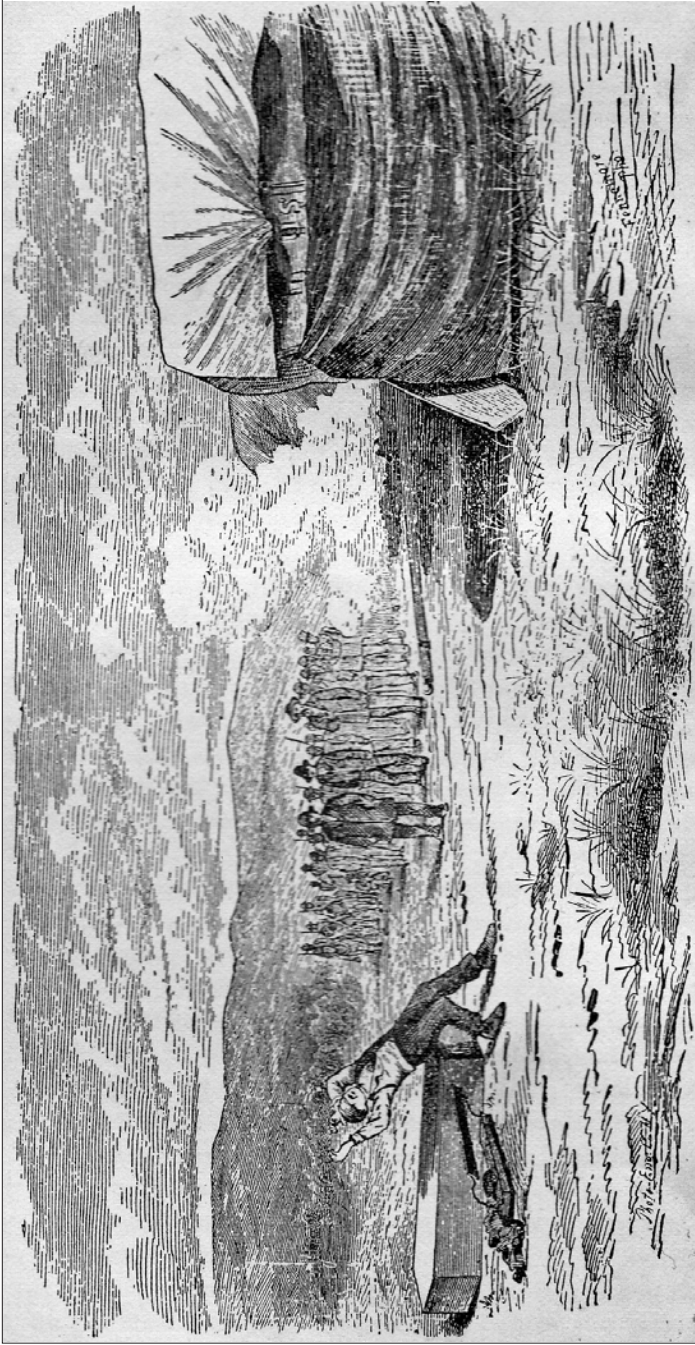
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of the . . . butchering upon the Mormon Church.” Nelson was critical of the first prosecutors for wasting public funds. Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah*, 103. Leonard Arrington raised the same argument somewhat tentatively in “Crusade against Theocracy,” 43 note 60.

<sup>49</sup>*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, quoted in Dwyer, *The Gentile Comes to Utah*, 99.

<sup>50</sup>*Salt Lake Daily Tribune*, August 10, 1875, quoted in Fielding, *Tribune Reports*, 181. This is a paraphrase of Baskin’s argument.

<sup>51</sup>*Ibid.*, quoted in Fielding, *Tribune Reports*, 182.



*This dramatic illustration shows John D. Lee's execution in Mountain Meadows in March 23, 1887. He had been seated on his coffin, stoically awaiting the firing squad's bullets. John D. Lee, Mormonism Unveiled; or, the Life and Confession of John D. Lee, the Late Mormon Bishop, edited by W. W. Bishop (St. Louis: Bryan, Brand & Co., 1877), following p. 384.*

pers nationwide. It promised that the witnesses in the approaching trial would “entirely refute all the charges which have been made against Brigham Young and the leaders of the Mormon Church in Salt Lake City. It will be proven that he sent an emphatic command that the deed should not be committed.”<sup>52</sup>

It was true that the trial had not established a link between Young and the massacre in southern Utah. But neither had it positively eliminated the possibility of his involvement. Thus, whether they intended it or not, this early news story had created high expectations at the outset of the trial—expectations that at the conclusion of trial were not entirely met.

There had been another miscalculation. Due to their age and health, Brigham Young and George A. Smith had not appeared at the trial in Beaver but instead had submitted affidavits that Lee’s counsel, Jabez Sutherland, sought to introduce into evidence. They received widespread public circulation and comment. But when members of the press perceived inadequacies in the affidavits, they pounced. Why had Brigham Young insulted “the intelligence of the nation with so bald and so puerile a tissue of flummery,” the *Sacramento [California] Record* fumed. “The transparent hypocrisy of the entire affidavit is the strongest evidence of Brigham’s complicity in the whole business,” concluded the *St. Albion [Vermont] Advertiser*. Who could doubt, asked the *Helena [Montana] Herald*, “that this massacre lies at his [Young’s] door, either as a result of his direct order or at least the natural and necessary result of his teachings.”<sup>53</sup> Thereafter, the Mormons’ and particularly Brigham Young’s public reputation declined precipitously.

For the Liberals, the timing was indeed fortuitous. For more than fifty years, much of the moral energy of the nation had been focused on abolition. The triumph of the North in the Civil War had achieved an end to slavery; but by 1875, the goals of Southern Reconstruction were flagging and would fail entirely by 1877. Even

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<sup>52</sup>This short notice appeared in many newspapers throughout the country around July 17, 1875.

<sup>53</sup>Quoted in Baskin, *Reminiscences of Early Utah*, 127–28. I have found no convincing evidence that Brigham Young ordered the massacre; but here we are dealing with the *perception* of Young’s involvement and how that perception was to fuel the fires of the national antipolygamy crusade that would soon transform Mormonism, theologically, politically, economically, and culturally.



in the North, progressives retreated from the goal of social equality with black Americans. Where, then, to redirect the evangelical moral fervor that had fired the abolitionist cause for half a century? Some of this energy would soon be channeled into moral crusades favoring temperance and Sunday closing laws. But in the short term, much of it poured into the national antipolygamy crusade against the Mormons. That became the most successful moral crusade of the 1880s, and it resurfaced again after the turn of the century in the crusade to unseat Utah Senator Reed Smoot.<sup>54</sup>

By January 1879, the U.S. Supreme Court had ruled against the Mormon Church in the *Reynolds* case.<sup>55</sup> Mormons could believe whatever they chose, the Supreme Court held. But the *practice* of polygamy, even if claimed as a religious duty, could be proscribed. This opened a floodgate of more onerous antipolygamy legislation.<sup>56</sup> Following passage of the Edmunds Act in 1882, the Mormon hierarchy went “underground” to avoid prosecution. In 1887, passage of the Edmunds-Tucker Act led to the disincorporation of the Mormon Church as a legal entity and forfeiture of its major assets to the federal government. In 1890, in a unanimous decision the U.S. Supreme Court held that all Mormons—even law-abiding monogamous ones—could be stripped of their civil rights for mere membership in a church that espoused polygamy.<sup>57</sup>

The precipitous decline in Church fortunes yielded a corre-

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<sup>54</sup>Joan Smyth Iversen, *The Antipolygamy Controversy in U.S. Women's Movements, 1880–1925* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1997). For the revival of antipolygamy sentiment in the early twentieth century during the Smoot hearings, see Michael Harold Paulos, *The Mormon Church on Trial: Transcript of the Reed Smoot Hearings* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2008); and Kathleen Flake, *The Politics of American Religious Identity: The Seating of Senator Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).

<sup>55</sup>*Reynolds v. United States*, 98 U.S. 145 (1878). See the extended discussion of *Reynolds* in Sarah Barringer Gordon, *The Mormon Question: Polygamy and Constitutional Conflict in Nineteenth Century America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002), chap. 4.

<sup>56</sup>Gordon, *The Mormon Question*, chap. 5; Iversen, *The Antipolygamy Crusade*, chap. 4.

sponding rise in those of the Liberals. Baskin became mayor of Salt Lake City and later chief justice of the Utah Supreme Court. By the late nineteenth century, the mining interests that had so tantalized the Gentiles since the time of their arrival in Utah were largely under Gentile control. In addition, they had obtained substantial political influence in state affairs.

Yet, as frequently happens, some actions brought unforeseen consequences. The successes of the antipolygamy campaign eventually led the Mormon Church to abandon not only polygamy but also its experiments in communitarian economics. This mainstreaming of Mormonism—termed in Gustive O. Larson’s neat phrase as “the Americanization of Utah”<sup>58</sup>—eventually stripped Mormonism of two features strongly repugnant to outsiders; the practice of polygamy and direct involvement of the Mormon hierarchy in political and economic affairs. Forced to shed these practices by the federal government with strong support from evangelical Protestant reformers, Mormonism has since adapted, evolved, and grown to become an international Christian denomination and the fourth-largest denomination in the United States. As for the Gentiles whose main interest in early Utah had been in its mining opportunities, they pursued placer mining but soon found that Utah was suited only for hard-rock mining. This process required massive capital investment and an industrialized labor force. With capitalists supplying the investment capital, the labor force for Utah’s large-scale industrialized mining was supplied by a succession of new ethnic and national groups to Utah—Finns, Irish, Italians, Greeks, Austrians, Bulgarians, Serbians, Croats, Slovenians, Chinese, Japanese, Koreans, and more recently, Mexicans and Central Americans. These new immigrants further enriched Utah’s already rich blend of ethnicities. In the process, mining evolved from quixotic quest to stable industry.<sup>59</sup>

The Lee trials, particularly the first one, played a pivotal role in

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<sup>57</sup>*Davis v. Beason*, 133 U.S. 333 (1890). See Gordon, *The Mormon Question*, 225–28. It is questionable whether *Davis v. Beason* is still good law, but the U.S. Supreme Court has never overturned it.

<sup>58</sup>Gustive O. Larson, *The “Americanization” of Utah for Statehood* (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library, 1971).

<sup>59</sup>For the evolution of mining in Utah including the immigration of successive waves of ethnic and national groups, see Colleen Whitley, ed., *From the Ground Up: The History of Mining in Utah* (Logan: Utah State Uni-

fomenting the national moral crusade that eventually transformed Utah's society, politics, and economy far beyond what any of the actors could have foreseen in 1875.



# TO THE “HONEST AND PATRIOTIC SONS OF LIBERTY”: MORMON APPEALS FOR REDRESS AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, 1843–44

*Brent M. Rogers*

WITH THE 1844 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION a year away, the Mormon community renewed its efforts to have its members' rights and property restored arising from the persecutions they faced in Missouri during the 1830s.<sup>1</sup> Following years of disappointment in presenting legal memorials accompanied by hundreds of individual af-

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<sup>1</sup>By 1843, roughly a decade had passed since the Mormons first suffered harassment and violence in Missouri. Church leaders had made several failed attempts to receive redress from persons of authority at both the state and national levels: e.g., Missouri governors and courts, Presidents Andrew Jackson (he delegated the petition to his Secretary of War, Lewis Cass) and Martin Van Buren, and Congress. The petitions, or series of appeals I discuss in this article are different from the Missouri redress petitions and affidavits primarily written between 1839 and 1840. For efforts at obtaining redress, see Clark V. Johnson, ed., *Mormon Redress Petitions: Documents of the 1833–1838 Missouri Conflict* (Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, 1992); Stephen C. LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri*

fidavits to the Missouri state and U.S. federal governments to gain redress, the Mormon leaders realized they would have to promote new approaches and attempt fresh tactics to raise awareness of their struggle among the American public. On November 2, 1843, Joseph Smith, Hyrum Smith, Brigham Young, John Taylor, Heber C. Kimball, and William Clayton met in Nauvoo, Illinois, to discuss political matters based on a letter sent to Joseph Smith by Joseph L. Heywood, a Mormon residing in Quincy, Illinois, in late October. Heywood's letter suggested that Smith and members of the Church consider again petitioning Congress for reparations of property and lives lost in Missouri, employing the good offices of his friend, Colonel John Frierson, the U.S. Surveyor from Quincy, who had some influence in Congress.<sup>2</sup> This November 2 meeting proved to be the impetus for Church leadership to use the election year of 1844 to seize whatever influence they could to achieve redress for the crimes committed against them in Missouri by appealing to the precepts of equality and human rights guaranteed to American citizens. Within the month, Smith spoke to a gathering of Nauvoo citizens and encouraged "every man in the meeting who could wield a pen [to] write an address to his mother country," or, in other words, to the state of his birth.<sup>3</sup> Rather than the protracted recitals of the Missouri expulsion presented to Congress and published in pamphlet form in 1839 and 1840, these appeals were succinct statements ad-

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(Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1987); Alexander L. Baugh, "A Call to Arms: The 1838 Mormon Defense of Northern Missouri" (Ph.D. diss., Brigham Young University, 2000); and Richard Lyman Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York: Vintage Books, 2007), 512.

<sup>2</sup>Church Historian's Office, Manuscript History of the Church, November 2, 1843, E-1, 1760, CR 100 102; Joseph Smith, Journal, November 2, 1843, MS 155, Box 1, fd. 7; Joseph L. Heywood, Letter to Joseph Smith, October 23, 1843, MS 155, Box 3, fd. 5, all in LDS Church History Library. All correspondence and documents cited in this article, unless otherwise noted, are in this depository. According to Heywood's letter, Congressman Robert Barnwell Rhett of South Carolina had written Frierson "upon the subject of the persecution." Heywood suggested that Frierson could write back to Rhett to inquire about congressional support for the Mormon cause.

<sup>3</sup>Church Historian's Office, Manuscript History of the Church, November 29, 1843, E-1, 1790, CR 100 102.

dressed to the citizens and legislatures of individual sovereign states that focused on a handful of themes including Mormon claims to a Revolutionary War heritage, the balance between state and federal power, and the rape of Mormon women.<sup>4</sup> By the end of April 1844, at least seven separate appeals for redress had been written to six different state populations asking for assistance from citizens or the state's legislative body in making the federal government aware of the wrongs committed against American Mormons.<sup>5</sup> These appeals offer insights into the collective Mormon mind and reveal growth in

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<sup>4</sup>Two of the early, lengthy pamphlets include John P. Greene, *Expulsion of the Mormons: Facts Relative to the Expulsion of the Mormons or Latter Day Saints from the State of Missouri, under the "Exterminating Order"* (Cincinnati, Ohio: R. P. Brooks, 1839) and Parley P. Pratt, *History of the Late Persecution Inflicted by the State of Missouri upon the Mormons* (Detroit: Dawson & Bates, 1839). Greene's document, approximately fifty pages in typescript, included a collection of letters, minutes, public statements, and legal affidavits that provided evidence similar to the hundreds of redress petitions presented to Congress the next year. Pratt's document, of approximately forty pages, offered a narrative account of the Church in Missouri from 1831 to the spring of 1839 and Pratt's personal experiences during the Missouri atrocities. Johnson *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 3, includes both of these lengthy pamphlets.

<sup>5</sup>The exact process for addressing an appeal to a state and its reception within that state is unclear. Most of the appeals were addressed simply to the inhabitants of the particular state and evidence does not confirm the receipt of the messages in those states, except in the cases of Joseph Smith's appeal to Vermont, and Sidney Rigdon and Noah Packard's appeals sent or presented directly to the state legislative bodies of Pennsylvania and Massachusetts respectively. Some of the appeals were published in pamphlet form to be delivered by missionaries to the large towns of the state. They were likely distributed to politicians and newspaper editors. For instance, after Joseph Smith presented his appeal to Vermont, Parley P. Pratt "offered to deliver the president's appeal to the 'green mountain boys' to all the large towns in New York" and presumably to Vermont towns along the way. Smith's appeal appears to have been circulated in Vermont, but it is not known how that happened. Pratt's appeal to New York was likewise printed in pamphlet form and likely distributed along with Smith's. Church Historian's Office, Manuscript History of the Church, November 29, 1843, E-1, 1790, CR 100 102. This would have been similar to the way Mormons canvassed for Smith's presidential bid later in 1844 when the Church leader-

the Church membership's national political participation and activism just before the death of Joseph Smith.

Nevertheless, the primary audience for the appeals was the Mormon community itself. Each address was either read out loud at a citizens' meeting in Nauvoo or published in the *Nauvoo Neighbor* and *Times and Seasons*, both publications for Mormon consumption, to rally the membership around certain political ideals that were solidified in Joseph Smith's presidential campaign of the same year. Likewise, these documents were written to fulfill what Latter-day Saints viewed as inspired revelation to plead with the political and judicial authorities at the state and federal levels, even the U.S. president, for protection, redress, and their basic citizenship rights. This was the "course to be pursued" as "directed by the God of heaven."<sup>6</sup> The appeals, similar and different in a variety of ways, reveal that the Mormons tried to deemphasize their religious uniqueness and make common cause with other Americans by claiming the rights of and defense for a revolutionary heritage. They thus offer a window into a Mormon identity that attempted to demonstrate that the American ideals of republicanism and universal liberty were broad enough to accommodate religious otherness.

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ship sent hundreds of men out in April to preside over the Church in places and "present before the people 'General Smith's views of the power and policy of the general Government;' and seek diligently to get up electors who will go for him for the presidency." "Special Conference," *Times and Seasons*, April 15, 1844, 504–5. Having published these in both the *Nauvoo Neighbor* and the *Times and Seasons*, it seems likely that other newspapers would pick them up and reprint them. "Another Appeal," *Warsaw Message*, January 24, 1844.

<sup>6</sup>Phineas Richards, "An Appeal, to the Inhabitants of Massachusetts," *Nauvoo Neighbor*, February 7, 1844, [2], referred directly to an inspired revelation dictated by Joseph Smith in December 1833. An inspired revelation in Mormon terms "generally refers to messages expressed in the first-person voice of Deity that Joseph Smith dictated to his scribes." Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, eds., *Revelations and Translations: Manuscript Revelation Books, Facsimile Edition*, in THE JOSEPH SMITH PAPERS, general editors Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, October 2009), ixx.

### LETTERS TO PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

In the same meeting that the Mormon leaders discussed Heywood's letter, they initiated a strategic process of writing letters to five potential presidential candidates in the 1844 election "to enquire what their feelings were or what their course would be towards the saints if they were elected."<sup>7</sup> Three prospective presidential candidates eventually answered the Mormons' inquiry.<sup>8</sup> In antebellum America, many in national politics believed in a strict states' rights system, especially former President Martin Van Buren, who in the winter of 1839–40 had told Mormon petitioners that the federal government could provide no redress because the persecution incidents were a state matter.<sup>9</sup> Since that meeting with Van Buren, Joseph Smith and the Mormon leaders often heard the familiar tune that states' rights dominated.

One of the respondents to the Mormons' 1843 letter of inquiry, Lewis Cass, the former U.S. Secretary of War and governor of Michigan Territory, replied that "if your application for the redress to

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<sup>7</sup>Joseph Smith, Journal, November 2, 1843. Henry Clay (Whig from Kentucky), John C. Calhoun (Democrat from South Carolina), Richard M. Johnson (Democrat from Kentucky and Martin Van Buren's vice president), Martin Van Buren (Democrat from New York), Lewis Cass (Democrat from Michigan) comprised the five candidates in the U.S. presidential election of 1844 to whom the Mormons wrote. James K. Polk (Democrat from Tennessee) and James Buchanan (Democrat from Pennsylvania) were also candidates, but the Mormons did not write to them. Polk, not regarded as a candidate until just before the Democratic Party convention in May, eventually won the 1844 presidential election. Joseph Smith, Letter to Henry Clay, et al., November 4, 1843, MS 155, Box 2, fd. 6.

<sup>8</sup>The three candidates that Smith received letters from were Henry Clay, John C. Calhoun, and Lewis Cass. Joseph Smith, Journal, December 27, 1843; Smith, Journal, May 15, 1844; Henry Clay, Letter to Joseph Smith, November 15, 1843, MSS 155, Box 3, fd. 5; John C. Calhoun, Letter to Joseph Smith, December 2, 1843, MS 155, Box 3, fd. 5; Lewis Cass, Letter to Joseph Smith, December 9, 1843, MS 155 Box 3, fd. 5.

<sup>9</sup>Joseph Smith and Elias Higbee, Letter to Hyrum Smith and the High Council, December 5, 1839, Letterbook 2:85, MS 155, Box 2, fd. 2. For more on states' rights issues and the division of power at various government levels, see Forrest McDonald, *States' Rights and the Union: Imperium in Imperio, 1776–1876* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2000).

which you consider yourselves entitled has been, as you say rejected by the constituted authorities of the state of Missouri, and by Congress, I do not see what power, the President of the United States can have over the matter or how he can interfere in it.”<sup>10</sup> John C. Calhoun, former Vice President and future Secretary of State, responded that, if elected, he would strive “to administer the government according to the Constitution and the laws of the union; and that, as they make no distinction between citizens of different religious creeds,” neither would he. Calhoun likewise answered the question about Missouri by referring to the states’ rights doctrine: “Candor compels me to repeat, what I said to you at Washington; that according to my views the case does not come within the jurisdiction of the federal government, which is one of limited and specific powers.”<sup>11</sup> Calhoun, like Cass, Van Buren, and other staunch states’ rights proponents, believed that communities often looked to the federal government for too much when it could not interfere with intrastate matters.<sup>12</sup>

In a January 2, 1844, letter, Joseph Smith rebutted Calhoun and laid out his own perspective on the constitutional division of governmental power and local rights. Smith protested the logical extension of Calhoun’s position—that a state could expel citizens with impunity. He further indicated that, he, as a well wisher “to the perpetuity of constitutional rights and liberty,” denied that the federal government had no jurisdiction in the Mormon-Missouri case. Rather, in a divided sovereignty, one entity had to have more authority than the other, to right wrongs to American citizens as they occurred. He

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<sup>10</sup>Lewis Cass, Letter to Joseph Smith, December 9, 1843, MS 155, Box 3, fd. 5; Smith, Journal, November 2 and 4, 1843. Cass had corresponded with Mormon leaders during the early Missouri troubles. On May 2, 1834, Lewis Cass responded to a plea for federal assistance with the claim that the president “cannot call out a military force to aid in the execution of the state laws, until proper requisition is made upon him by the constituted authorities.” Cass noted that Mormon complaints revealed violations of state law and not federal law. Lewis Cass, Letter to A. S. Gilbert et al., May 2, 1834, Collection of Missouri Documents, MS 657, fd. 4.

<sup>11</sup>John C. Calhoun, Letter to Joseph Smith, December 2, 1843, MS 155, Box 3, fd. 5.

<sup>12</sup>McDonald, *States’ Rights and the Union*, 122. According to McDonald, Calhoun occasionally distorted the states’ rights doctrine to protect slavery in the 1840s (134–36).



could not comprehend how a sovereign state was “so much more powerful . . . than the United States, the parent Government, that it can exile you at pleasure, mob you with impunity; confiscate your lands and property, have the Legislature sanction it; yea, even murder you as an edict of an Emperor, and it does no wrong, for the noble Senator of South Carolina, says, the power of the Federal Government, is so limited and specific, that it has no jurisdiction of the case! What think ye of Imperium in imperio.”<sup>13</sup>

This vitriolic letter to Calhoun also reiterated a theme began in and seen throughout the appeals to the states. Smith believed that the treatment his people received in Missouri and, just as bad, the deaf ears of officials and politicians at every level of government that refused to hear their case derided America’s revolutionary heritage and founding principles. He rhetorically demanded: “Where is the strength of government? Where is the patriotism of a Washington, a Warren, and Adams? And where is a spark from the watch fire of ’76, by which one candle might be lit, that would glimmer upon the confines of democracy? Well may it be said that one man is not a state; nor one state the nation.”<sup>14</sup> The central authority of the nation, Smith argued, must be a legal arbiter for disputes between individuals and states.

Finally, Smith pronounced strong views on the powers of the government and the supremacy of the Constitution:

And let me say, that all men who say that Congress has no power to restore and defend the rights of her citizens, have not the love of the truth abiding in them. Congress has power to protect the nation against foreign invasion and internal broils, and whenever that body passes an act to maintain right with any power; or to restore right to any portion of her citizens, it is the supreme law of the land and should a state refuse submission, that state is guilty of insurrection or rebellion, and the president has as much power to repel it, as Washington had to march against the “whiskey boys of Pittsburg,” or Genl. Jackson had to send an armed force to suppress the rebellion of South Carolina.<sup>15</sup>

Smith argued that the “8th section and 1st article of the constitution

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<sup>13</sup>Joseph Smith, Letter to John C. Calhoun, January 2, 1844, MS 155, Box 2, fd. 7.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

of the United States,” offer specific and “not very ‘limited powers’ of the federal government,” to protect the lives, property, and rights of a virtuous people. Smith was referring to the Constitution’s clauses providing for the common welfare, calling out the militia to execute the laws of the Union, and exercising exclusive legislation necessary for their execution. Ultimately, Smith argued that the federal government had the authority in this sphere based in Article VI of the Constitution, which codified federal law as the supreme law of the land.<sup>16</sup>

In his correspondence with presidential candidates and in his later presidential platform, titled *General Smith’s Views on the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States*, Smith sought to reenvision divided sovereignty in the U.S. federal system. He advocated a nationalist approach to enable the federal government to protect people in their constitutional rights outside of states’ rights issues. For most antebellum Americans, local democracy and sovereignty were sacrosanct in the relationship between citizens and the state, which would have made the nationalist approach unpopular.

Smith’s correspondence with presidential hopefuls and his later presidential platform grew out of the same process that developed the numerous appeals flowing from Nauvoo in late 1843 and early 1844. In late November 1843, after meeting two travelers from his home state of Vermont, Smith counseled with members of the Twelve Apostles and his trusted clerk and scribe William W. Phelps on political matters. He instructed Phelps to draft an appeal to the citizens of Vermont under Smith’s signature with the purposes of persuading them to help the Mormons obtain redress for their grievances and bring Missouri to justice. This plea would become the first drafted and published petition of its kind and paved the way

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<sup>16</sup>Smith referred to the Constitution’s supremacy clause (Article VI, section 2): “This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States . . . shall be the supreme Law of the Land.” Smith, Letter to John C. Calhoun, January 2, 1844; “Correspondence of Gen. Joseph Smith and Hon. J. C. Calhoun,” *Nauvoo Neighbor*, January 10, 1844, [2–3]. See also James B. Allen, “Joseph Smith vs. John C. Calhoun: The States’ Rights Dilemma and Early Mormon History,” in Reid L. Neilson and Terryl L. Givens, *Joseph Smith, Jr.: Reappraisals after Two Centuries* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 73–90.

for others to follow.<sup>17</sup>

On November 25, 1843, while Phelps was drafting Smith's appeal, John Frierson arrived in Nauvoo. The next morning he met with Joseph and Hyrum Smith and the Quorum of the Twelve, who read him affidavits by Hyrum Smith, Brigham Young, Parley P. Pratt, Lyman Wight, George W. Pitkin, and Sidney Rigdon detailing the Missouri experience. The group then spent the day planning to produce an official memorial to present to Congress for redress of grievances, much like the petitions presented in Washington in 1839 and 1840.<sup>18</sup>

Two days later on November 28, Frierson penned the new petition to Congress. In it he provided a brief history of the Mormons in Missouri, the outbreak of violence, the extermination order, and their forced removal from the state. Frierson used strong language to underscore the unconstitutionality of their treatment. He stated that "a force was organized under the authority of the Governor of the State of Missouri" with orders to drive them from the state or "exterminate" them. This memorial emphasized that Mormons were American citizens who had purchased property and built homes in a state that robbed them of their constitutional rights by allowing the murder of American citizens and the theft and destruction of their property. "Had any foreign State or power committed a similar outrage upon us," the memorial declared, "we cannot for a moment doubt that the strong arm of the general government would have been stretched out to redress our wrongs, and we flatter ourselves that the same power will either redress our grievances or shield us from harm in our efforts to regain our lost property, which we fairly purchased from the general government." The petition asked Congress to investigate these wrongs "and grant such relief as by the Constitution and

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<sup>17</sup>Smith, Journal, November 20 and 30, 1843. The Vermont appeal is attributed to Joseph Smith as author and is titled *General Joseph Smith's Appeal to the Green Mountain Boys* (Nauvoo: Taylor and Woodruff, 1843). William W. Phelps, Smith's trusted clerk, ghost-wrote most of Smith's political documents, letters, and presidential platform during 1843 and 1844. Samuel Brown, "The Translator and the Ghostwriter: Joseph Smith and W. W. Phelps," *Journal of Mormon History* 34 no. 1 (Winter 2008): 26–62.

<sup>18</sup>Smith, Journal, November 25–26, 1843; Wilford Woodruff, Journal, November 26, 1843, holograph, MS 1352, Box 2, fd. 1; Elden Jay Watson, ed., *Manuscript History of Brigham Young, 1801–1844* (Salt Lake City: Smith Secretarial Service, 1968), November 26, 1843, 155.

laws you may have power to give.” The extant copy of the Frierson memorial now in the National Archives lists 3,419 signatures, most of them Mormons.<sup>19</sup> Joseph Smith read the memorial to a public gathering in Nauvoo on November 29, 1843.<sup>20</sup>

#### APPEALS TO NATAL STATES

Following this dual-pronged effort to query presidential candidates and again petition Congress, the Church leaders returned to the proposal of asking members to write to their home states, appealing for support.<sup>21</sup> After Smith read Frierson’s memorial to Congress on November 29, Phelps, in the same meeting, read the appeal he had authored for the Mormon prophet to “the Green Mountain Boys” of Vermont, Smith’s birth state. Phelps’s passionate, and occasionally antagonistic, appeal began with a justification for seeking help from the Green Mountain State: “Whenever a nation, kingdom, state, family or individual has received an insult, or an injury, from a superior force . . . it has been the custom to call in the aid of friends to assist in obtaining redress.”<sup>22</sup> In vague terms, Phelps called for Vermont’s friendly assistance in “obtaining justice from Missouri: not only for the property she has stolen and confiscated, the murders she has

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<sup>19</sup>The memorial written by John Frierson is attributed to the “Inhabitants of Hancock County in the State of Illinois” and is titled “Memorial,” November 28, 1843, Records of the Senate, RG 46, National Archives, Washington, D.C. (hereafter Frierson, “Memorial”). Some call this memorial the “scroll petition.” Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, 513. On December 16, 1843, the mayor, aldermen, and city councilors of Nauvoo officially signed the Frierson memorial to petition Congress for redress of Missouri losses. Nauvoo City Council, Minutes, December 16, 1843, MS 2737, Box 85, fd. 3; Smith, Journal, December 21, 1843. On April 5, 1844, Illinois Senator James Semple presented the memorial to the Senate, which referred it to Senate Committee on the Judiciary, which apparently took no action. *Congressional Globe*, 28th Congress, 1st Session, April 5, 1844, 482. See also Orson Hyde, Letters to Joseph Smith, April 25 and 26, 1844, MS 155, Box 3, fd. 6.

<sup>20</sup>Untitled notice, *Nauvoo Neighbor*, December 6, 1843, [2].

<sup>21</sup>Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, 512.

<sup>22</sup>Smith, *General Joseph Smith’s Appeal to the Green Mountain Boys*, 5; Smith, Journal, November 21 and December 3, 1843; Woodruff, Journal, December 3 and 7, 1843.

committed among my friends, and for our expulsion from the State, but also to humble and chastise, or abase her for the disgrace she has brought upon constitutional liberty, until she atones for her sins.”<sup>23</sup> The Vermont petition sought to protect American constitutional liberty by securing the restoration of the blessings of rights, privileges, and property due to American citizens, a body to which, the document made clear, the founding Mormon and his people belonged. In the Vermont appeal, and in the many to follow, the writer employed a popular rhetorical trope of that era to demonstrate the need to reform the political process in order to defend and preserve republicanism and return political power to the people.<sup>24</sup>

The plea also appealed to Vermont’s patriotic history, honor, and valor, specifically invoking the history of the Green Mountain Boys, an armed military company organized under Ethan Allen to protect their property and interests from New Yorkers in the 1770s. Their fight for their “liberty, property, and life” played a critical military role in the independence of Vermont and America’s revolution.<sup>25</sup> The appeal under Joseph Smith’s name likened the Mormon fight to that of Allen and the Green Mountain Boys. He explained that the Mormon people legally purchased “several hundred thousand dollars worth of land in Missouri,” from U.S. land offices, while Missouri citizens drove them from their farms and destroyed their improvements and other property. Those actions coupled with the murders and expulsion of the Mormon people, the plea declared, existed contrary to the “express language of the Constitution of the United States, and every State of the Union; and contrary to the custom and usage of civilized nations and especially, one holding up the motto: ‘The asylum of the oppressed,’” as the United States purported. The Phelps-authored appeal constructed a revolutionary heritage for Joseph Smith, stating that Joseph Smith Sr. “stood, several times in the battles of the American Revolution, till his companions, in arms, had been shot dead, at his feet, was forced from his

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<sup>23</sup>Smith, *General Joseph Smith’s Appeal to the Green Mountain Boys*, 5.

<sup>24</sup>Michael F. Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1983), 5. Holt notes that this trope was common to political parties in the 1840s and 1850s.

<sup>25</sup>For more on Ethan Allen and the Green Mountain Boys, see Willard Sterne Randall, *Ethan Allen: His Life and Times* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2011).

home in Far West, Missouri, by those civilized, or satanized savages,” only to die a year later of exposure-related problems.<sup>26</sup> The Vermont appeal denounced the disgrace that Missouri had brought upon ideals of constitutional liberty and called on Vermont’s citizens to uphold the virtue and “patriotism of ‘76” to reverse the message delivered by politicians of the past: As “President Van Buren said, your cause is just, but government has no power to redress you!”<sup>27</sup> Would the people of Vermont let one of their own suffer in this way or would they stand up for the nation’s foundational principles, the appeal asked. Phelps concluded on an apocalyptic and antagonistic note by suggesting that if Missouri escaped “the vengeance she so justly deserves,” then “Vermont is a hypocrite—a cow-

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<sup>26</sup>Joseph Smith Sr. was born in 1771, making it possible, though unlikely, that he participated in the Revolutionary War in some form, although there is no documentary evidence supporting it. Both grandfathers, Solomon Mack, as a privateer, and Asael Smith, on New York’s northern frontier, served in the Revolutionary War. Phelps may have forgotten that he was ghostwriting this and paid homage to his own father, Enon Phelps, who served on the American side in the Revolutionary War. Nevertheless, the statement rhetorically connects Joseph Jr. with the country’s founding and its revolutionary roots and ideals. According to Richard Lloyd Anderson, *Joseph Smith’s New England Heritage: Influences of Grandfathers Solomon Mack and Asael Smith* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book/Provo, Utah: BYU Press, 2003), 118–20, Joseph Smith claimed “a love of liberty” from both grandfathers.

<sup>27</sup>Smith, *General Joseph Smith’s Appeal to the Green Mountain Boys*, 4; italics removed; Smith, Journal, November 21, 1843. This phrase attributed to Smith was amended over time. According to the earliest evidence from the Mormon prophet on his first visit with U.S. President Martin Van Buren, Van Buren responded: “What can I do? I can do nothing for you—if I do any thing, I shall come in contact with the whole state of Missouri.” Joseph Smith and Elias Higbee, Letter to Hyrum Smith and the High Council, December 5, 1839, Joseph Smith Letterbook 2:85, MS 155. Parley P. Pratt quotes Van Buren’s statement as: “Your cause is just but government has no power to redress your wrongs.” Parley P. Pratt, *An Appeal to the Inhabitants of the State of New York, An Appeal to the Freemen of the Empire State, by an Exile of Missouri* (Nauvoo: John Taylor Printer, 1844), 2; italics removed.



ard—and this nation the hot bed of political demagogues!”<sup>28</sup>

The *Nauvoo Neighbor* later reported that Joseph Smith’s “address to the Green Mountain Boys is a masterly piece, and will be read (as it was listened to) with great interest.”<sup>29</sup> On December 3, 1843, in a public meeting, the Green Mountain Boys appeal was dedicated by prayer. John Taylor published it in pamphlet form and sent it by way of missionaries to the towns of Vermont and to members of the United States Congress.<sup>30</sup>

With the Vermont appeal as their example, Mormon men began following up on Smith’s November 29 request to write appeals to their native states.<sup>31</sup> The general rhetoric of these messages reveals Mormons’ understanding of their place in American culture and their perception of how to connect themselves to the mainstream. They were not just true-blue Americans but human beings, worthy of

<sup>28</sup>Smith, *General Joseph Smith’s Appeal to the Green Mountain Boys*, 7; Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, 513.

<sup>29</sup>Untitled notice, *Nauvoo Neighbor*, December 6, 1843, [2].

<sup>30</sup>No responses were made to the appeal until February 1844. An anonymous letter from “citizens of Vermont” to *Warsaw Signal* editor Thomas Coke Sharp callously suggested that federal government had no right to grant the Mormons redress because of the states’ rights doctrine and that it was the “good citizens” of Missouri that had been wronged because Mormons fought with them and shed their blood. They believed that the Mormons “honestly deserve[d]” swift justice: “that you [Joseph Smith] be suspended by your neck to a gallows.” Anonymous, Stafford, Vermont, Letter to “The Editor of the Warsaw Message or Warsaw Signal,” February 15, 1844, The Thomas C. Sharp and Allied Anti-Mormon Papers, 1844–1846, Western Americana Collection, Beinecke Library, Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

<sup>31</sup>The other appeals are Pratt, *An Appeal to the Inhabitants of the State of New York*; Benjamin Andrews, “An Appeal to the People of the State of Maine,” *Nauvoo Neighbor*, January 17, 1844, [1]; Sidney Rigdon, “To the Honorable, the Senate and House of Representatives of Pennsylvania, in Legislative Capacity Assembled,” *Nauvoo Neighbor*, January 31, 1844, [1]; Phineas Richards, “An APPEAL to the INHABITANTS of Massachusetts,” MS 15539; Phineas Richards, “For the Nauvoo Neighbor: An Appeal, to the Inhabitants of Massachusetts,” *Nauvoo Neighbor*, February 7, 1844, [2]; A. Young, “An Appeal to the State of Tennessee, by A. Young,” *Nauvoo Neighbor*, February 28, 1844, [1].

protection from a nation dedicated to ensuring liberty. The appeals combined persecution rhetoric that was aimed at uniting Mormons against their enemies with efforts to gain allies, not only for redress from their afflictions, but also to protect American values.<sup>32</sup> In addition to discussions of republicanism, gendered violence, and fulfilling revelations from God, the Mormon appeals emphasized the religious group's Americanness in politics and ideals by seeking inclusion in the majority body politic and in demonstrating the un-American injustice of systemic prejudice that haunted the nation that they aimed to protect.

On December 4, 1843, the second in the series of appeals was presented publicly to the citizens of Nauvoo. Parley P. Pratt read an address he wrote to the citizens of New York. A month later, Benjamin Andrews's appeal to the people of Maine appeared in the *Nauvoo Neighbor*.<sup>33</sup> Two weeks later, the *Nauvoo Neighbor* published Sidney Rigdon's message to the Pennsylvania legislature,<sup>34</sup> followed a week later by an appeal to Massachusetts written by Phineas Richards, a Mormon high priest and later Nauvoo City Council member. After another two weeks, Alphonso Young's appeal to Tennessee appeared in the February 28, 1844, issue of the *Nauvoo Neighbor*.<sup>35</sup> On March 5, 1844, Noah Packard, a Mormon high priest and surveyor in Nauvoo, delivered his message to the Senate and House of Representatives of

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<sup>32</sup>Rodman W. Paul, "The Mormons: From Poverty and Persecution to Prosperity and Power," *American Heritage* 28, no. 4 (June 1977): 77, speaks to the uniting quality of persecution rhetoric. Mormon leaders excelled in the persecution speech—the recitation of injustices against the Church. See also Zachary L. Largey, "The Rhetoric of Persecution: Mormon Crisis Rhetoric from 1838–1871" (M.A. thesis, Brigham Young University, April 2006).

<sup>33</sup>Biographical information on Andrews is scarce. His appeal states that he was born in York County, Maine, in 1793 and that he lived in that state for "more than forty years." Andrews later wrote a letter to "The Church in Maine," published in the *Nauvoo Neighbor*, May 22, 1844, [3], but that letter offers no biographical information.

<sup>34</sup>Rigdon, born February 19, 1793, in Saint Clair township, Alleghany County, Pennsylvania, had become a premier Mormon minister, orator, and writer, effectively using persecution rhetoric to remind Church members of their unfortunate circumstances and rousing them to some sort of action or belief. Largey, "The Rhetoric of Persecution," 31, 36, 41.

<sup>35</sup>Young was a licensed Mormon elder and missionary who was ap-

Massachusetts, which “kindly received” it and “ordered [it] to be printed.”<sup>36</sup> His was the last appeal to a state, published in the April 24, 1844, issue of the *Nauvoo Neighbor*. Aside from brief references like that accompanying the publication of Packard’s memorial, the reception and spread of these appeals is unknown. Although their purpose was to generate public awareness and gain support in obtaining justice, these documents ultimately reveal more about the way the writers perceived themselves and their community in the nation at the time.

### MORMON CLAIMS TO A REVOLUTIONARY HERITAGE

These appeals share three strong themes: Mormon claims to a Revolutionary War heritage, the balance between state and federal power, and the rape of Mormon women. By invoking a Revolutionary heritage, the Mormons rhetorically positioned themselves among Americans. Similar in tone and content to the Green Mountain Boys appeal, Pratt contrasted his patriotic heritage and love of country with the wrongs of religious persecution. He pled for protection and assistance in gaining redress guaranteed to every American citizen by the Constitution and of all the state governments. Pratt biographers Terryl L. Givens and Matthew J. Grow note that Pratt, “like other advocates for religious, racial, or ethnic outsiders in nineteenth-century America,” argued that the Mormons’ mistreatment “mocked the legacy of the American Revolution and the country’s reputation as an asylum for the oppressed.”<sup>37</sup> Pratt elaborated this theme, first propounded by Smith/Phelps’s Vermont appeal, by questioning the nation’s promises that its citizens had foundational rights to freedom,

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pointed to serve in the Tennessee mission presidency and work toward getting electors for Joseph Smith’s presidential bid in that state. “Special Conference, *Times and Seasons*, April 15, 1844, 504.

<sup>36</sup>Noah Packard, *House . . . No. 64. Commonwealth of Massachusetts. Memorial. To the Honorable the Governor, Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts, in Legislative Capacity Assembled: Russell, Mass., March 5th, 1844* (Boston: Dutton and Wentworth, Printers to the State, 1844); Noah Packard, “The Following Memorial,” *Nauvoo Neighbor*, April 24, 1844, [2]; “The Following Memorial. . .,” *Times and Seasons* 5, no. 9 (May 1, 1844): 514–19.

<sup>37</sup>Terryl L. Givens and Matthew J. Grow, *Parley P. Pratt: The Apostle Paul of Mormonism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 213–14.

liberty, and justice. Referring to the Missouri governor's executive extermination order against the Mormons and the unfulfillment of constitutional rights and protection to American citizens, Pratt asked "the honest and patriotic sons of liberty" rhetorically, "Was it for this, you resisted British oppression and invasion. . . . [W]as it for this you combined the wisdom of a nation in framing a Constitution which guarantees to every man the blessings of life, liberty, conscience, and the pursuit of happiness?"<sup>38</sup>

Benjamin Andrews likewise appealed to Maine's "wisdom, to that high legal attainment which characterizes you as a sovereign state—to your natural sense of the rights of man, and to the spirit of patriotism that burns within your bosoms, to do all within the grasp of your power, to redress us." He had learned the principles of political and religious freedom among "the brave and virtuous sons of Maine." Andrews had lived forty years in his native state and claimed his Americanness through a revolutionary heritage: "My father is well known to thousands, [and] was identified with the long line of illustrious patriots, who achieved our liberties in the war of revolution. From him I received the first impression of the rights of man."<sup>39</sup>

Phineas Richards's appeal to Massachusetts emphasized both the New England and revolutionary roots of himself and many Mormon members.<sup>40</sup> Richards called his native state the "cradle of liberty" from the time of the Revolution and thought that its citizens would want to know that the liberty obtained by their forefathers was under attack. He appealed to the "honor and patriotism" of his native state to investigate Missouri's crimes and help the downtrodden Mormons receive redress for "the loss of lives, and property, and other damages." As it stood, Richards indicated, the patriotism of his father had been forsaken by posterity. Phineas continued that, at age forty-nine, he left Massachusetts in 1837 with his fourteen-year-old son, George S. Richards, also a Massachusetts native and a Church member, and moved to Kirtland, Ohio. When Phineas returned to bring his wife and other children to Kirtland, George sent word that the

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<sup>38</sup>Pratt, *An Appeal to the Inhabitants of the State of New York*, 2.

<sup>39</sup>Andrews, "An Appeal to the People of the State of Maine," 1.

<sup>40</sup>Richards, "An APPEAL to the INHABITANTS of Massachusetts," 2, outlined the history of his residence in Massachusetts and described his father, Joseph Richards, as "a soldier in the revolutionary struggle."

Mormons were moving to Missouri.<sup>41</sup> “I heard no more from him until I heard that he was massacred at Haun’s Mills, Mo.,” on October 30, 1838, Richards lamented. Using Joseph Young’s affidavit about the attack, Richards described the Haun’s Mill murders in great detail,<sup>42</sup> and then cried out: “Is this the boasted land of liberty? Of equal rights and of religious toleration?”<sup>43</sup>

Noah Packard’s address, the second to Massachusetts and delivered in person to the legislature, also connected the Mormon-Missouri conflict to the Revolutionary generation. “Not from the birth of our national existence to the year 1832,” Packard announced, “can the annals of the United States of America be found, to blast the character of her noble sons, by telling the blood-chilling tale of assembled mobs, to deprive her citizens of their civil and religious liberties, without their meeting a due demerit and punishment for all their crimes.”<sup>44</sup> The Mormons in Missouri had placed confidence in the hope that they “should be permitted to enjoy the rights of American citizens”—a hope dashed by Governor Lilburn H. Boggs’s extermination order. Packard underlined the American citizenship of the Mormons, by asserting that he appealed for assistance in “the name of American citizens” in three instances. The plunder, rape, and murder that occurred, according to Packard, “would have disgraced a savage war in their wildest state” and were in “open violation to the laws of the whole civilized world.”<sup>45</sup> This message expanded the trope that the Mormons had suffered an uncivilized and un-American act that deserved redress from the state or federal government.

In hopes of discarding the perceived religious otherness of Mormons in the popular imagination, many of these appeals attempted to make common cause with the people of the United States. In his plea to Tennessee, Alphonso Young wrote, “We are human beings of like

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<sup>41</sup>Ibid., 2.

<sup>42</sup>Joseph Young, Affidavit, March 17, 1840, Mormon Redress Petitions, MS 2703; see also Beth Shumway Moore, *Bones in the Well: The Haun’s Mill Massacre, 1838: A Documentary History* (Norman, Okla.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2006), 49–55.

<sup>43</sup>Richards, “An APPEAL to the INHABITANTS of Massachusetts,” 2.

<sup>44</sup>Packard, “The Following Memorial,” 2.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., 2.

passions with yourselves. You love liberty, so do we. I am well acquainted with hundreds of you. I know you have ever inculcated virtuous principles.”<sup>46</sup> Young urged the people and the state legislature to “instruct their Senators, and request their Representatives in Congress, to appoint a delegation, to investigate our claims against Missouri.”<sup>47</sup> This appeal, like the others, asked for consideration of the Mormons’ case that they claimed was essential in protecting and promoting foundational national principles.

Pratt also recognized Mormons’ otherness, but overrode it with strong claims to an illustrious revolutionary ancestry and to the noble blood of the American race running in his veins and those of his fellow religionists. He had grown to manhood in the hope and expectation of freedom and American principles. By neglecting to redress and protect the injured Mormons, Pratt implied that Americans were threatening to renew the tyranny imposed on the United States by the British two generations earlier. Pratt asserted that the promises undergirding the nation’s foundation were under attack because of the Missouri issues.<sup>48</sup> If citizens were shackled with despotism, unable to exercise their inalienable rights or receive justice as equal citizens of the nation, then, Pratt declared, in referring to the founding generation, “you destroy that beautiful Temple of Liberty which they erected as the best memorial of their honor and of your shame.” This condition constituted evidence that the “patriotism of ’76” had left the country and the great laws of equality and justice had been put at defiance by a tyrannous government unwilling to redress its wronged people for fear of individual states.<sup>49</sup>

Andrews’s appeal to Maine similarly affirmed that the Mormons were an innocent people who, as U.S. citizens, deserved all of the rights, liberties, and privileges that came with that membership.<sup>50</sup>

#### THE BALANCE BETWEEN STATE AND FEDERAL POWERS

The Mormon activists decried the inability, and worse, the un-

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<sup>46</sup>Young, “An Appeal to the State of Tennessee,” 1.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid.

<sup>48</sup>Pratt, *An Appeal to the Inhabitants of the State of New York*, 1–2.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Andrews, “An Appeal to the People of the State of Maine,” 1.



willingness, of the federal government to protect its own citizens against atrocities committed by a state.<sup>51</sup> They lamented that American republicanism, the great experiment of self-government in a divided sovereignty, would collapse beneath states' rights power. According to Pratt and some of his fellow petitioners, the federal government—and government at all levels, for that matter—became unworthy of the name because no free government could stand without virtue in the people and especially when it could not, or would not, enforce its own laws within its own sphere of influence.<sup>52</sup> Pratt's appeal to New York ended with an apocalyptic note much like that of the earlier Vermont appeal. "If Missouri still goes unpunished for her crimes; if myself and my friends still go unredressed," Pratt declared, "then farewell to the glory of Columbia; farewell to the peace and security of the citizens of this once happy Republic." The Mormon apostle predicted that great calamities would befall the nation if no assistance was rendered because the nation was not what it purported to be and did not live up to its founding ideals and principles in providing for the defense and common welfare of American citizens.<sup>53</sup> Although this conclusion was decidedly threatening, Pratt's appeal, like the other six, embodied the Mormon belief that they positioned themselves as defenders of America's liberty against the growing despotism that gave Missouri's governor more power than the federal government.

Andrews's plea to Maine made similar assertions. If the federal government failed to lend assistance, the Mormon community would "be the discoverers of a desiderium in the constitution of the United States. If neither the civil court of an independent state, neither its legislature nor the great federal compact, has power to guard the lives and property of American citizens, then we shall have made a second

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<sup>51</sup>Young, "An Appeal to the State of Tennessee," 1.

<sup>52</sup>Pratt, *An Appeal to the Inhabitants of the State of New York*, 2; Young, "An Appeal to the State of Tennessee," 1.

<sup>53</sup>Pratt, *An Appeal to the Inhabitants of the State of New York*, 5–6. The apocalyptic nature of parts of Pratt's and Smith's appeals arose out of the decade-long persecution they faced. Grant Underwood, "Millennialism, Persecution and Violence: The Mormons," in Catherine Wessinger, ed., *Millennialism, Persecution, and Violence: Historical Cases* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2000), 55, asserts: "Persecution is indeed the incubator for apocalypticism."

discovery, that the framers of our reverend constitution did not understand the business of legislation.”<sup>54</sup>

Andrews used the statement as an illustration, not an attack against the founders. Government had the power to redress the wrongs of its citizens, he asserted. The U.S. founders had ensured it, and the Constitution gave citizens “the most inalienable right” to expect such a protection from federal authorities.

Andrews also argued that the Mormons defended American liberties. The Missouri persecutions represented “an injury which if unrepaired by government, will establish the most dangerous precedence, as others of a more direful nature will have license to follow.” He predicted: “In a republican government, when vice and corruption gain the ascendancy over virtue, the most terrible revolutions are *sure* to follow.”<sup>55</sup> In a republican form of government, guaranteed to every state by the U.S. Constitution and the type of government that the federal government had power to protect, the people held power to elect leaders to serve their interests.<sup>56</sup> Republican governments were also advantageous in that laws were designed to help the many over the few in providing for the common welfare, equality, and the ability for all to prosper and enjoy their liberty. Such a form of government did not exist in Missouri, according to the Mormon appeals; allusions to “republican” government and the Constitution’s guarantee clause became a key point to demonstrate that the federal government could protect the people against state depredations.<sup>57</sup>

Historian Michael F. Holt has asserted that, during this time of political unrest, political parties often identified menaces to republicanism as part of their ideology and made efforts to tie that menace to

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<sup>54</sup>Andrews, “An Appeal to the People of the State of Maine,” 1.

<sup>55</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>56</sup>The phrase “republican form of government” comes from Article IV of the Constitution, which the federal government is to guarantee to every state. The United States has a republican form of government, or representative democracy in which the people elect lawmakers to vote on and pass legislation in a democratic fashion. It also exists as a system of checks and balances to limit tyranny.

<sup>57</sup>Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830–1900* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 80–81.

opposing parties. These efforts were designed to reform flaws in the American political process to preserve republicanism and keep power in the hands of the people.<sup>58</sup> These appeals made known the Mormon fear that the virtuous political principles of the founding generation were under attack and that future generations would not enjoy the supposed benefits of a republican form of government if the federal government did nothing.

Sidney Rigdon's message to Pennsylvania directly addressed the topics of violence and the unwillingness of the Missouri authorities to offer protection. In this way, he indirectly attacked the states' rights doctrine that prevented federal interference. Rigdon asserted that Missouri people and officials persecuted Mormons for their religious beliefs, including the scriptural status of the Book of Mormon. Like Benjamin Andrews's appeal to Maine, Rigdon questioned America's republican institutions. The religious difference between Mormons and other Missourians, Rigdon declared, was sufficient justification for Boggs to "burn our dwellings—to rob us of our property—to ravish, torment, and murder our women and helpless children." Boggs's role in fostering this violence was "a barbarity disgraceful to savage warfare."<sup>59</sup> Rigdon could not fathom how such outrages could happen in a republican form of government. How could his people—American citizens just like the members of the Pennsylvania legislature—receive no protection or redress? How, in a republican form of government, could a government official suspend established law "to give place to cruelty, barbarity, and inhumanity?" Rigdon saw the Missouri persecutions as evidence that the nation's republican institutions were weakening and found it contemptible that Mormons as American citizens, "after having purchased lands from the government, and received the government guarantee to be protected in the enjoyment of them, . . . can be lawlessly and causelessly driven off by violence and cruelty, and yet the government have no power to protect them, or redress their wrongs." Rigdon pled with the Pennsylvania legislature, "in the name of all that is patriotic, republican, and honorable, to instruct the whole delegation of Pennsylvania in congress, to use all lawful and constitutional means to obtain for us redress for our wrongs and losses." To demonstrate the strength of America's republican in-

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<sup>58</sup>Holt, *The Political Crisis of the 1850s*, 5.

<sup>59</sup>Rigdon, "To the Honorable . . . Representatives of Pennsylvania," 1; Andrews, "An Appeal to the People of the State of Maine," 1.

stitutions, Rigdon reiterated his belief that the federal government not only had the power to act, but was “bound by every sacred obligation by which American citizens are bound to one another, in our national compact, to see that no injury” occurred without punishment and redress.<sup>60</sup>

Noah Packard’s appeal, the second addressed to Massachusetts, likewise examined the failings of the American justice system and republican governance. The justice system became a mockery since “no man was allowed to testify in favor of the Saints; and the trials undoubtedly were designed to make the distant public believe that there was an excuse for all this outrage and violence.” His people had not broken any laws and their enemies had not sought to magnify or enforce the law but had “proceeded in open violation of, not only the law of the land, but that of nature too.” Packard argued that the United States, bound by the Constitution, was required to give each state a republican form of government and to suppress insurrection and rebellion. “Are not the outrages here portrayed before you insurrection and rebellion?” Had not the nation failed to make a “manly attempt to wipe the bloody stain” of savage cruelty away? “Is it a republican form of government,” Packard again questioned, “where such a blood-chilling tragedy as this, is acted in the face and eyes of all the authorities of this nation, and no redress to be had? Is it a fact that in this boasted land of liberty,” he continued his interrogation, “that a man’s crimes, either pretended or real, are sufficient to subject his bosom companion to insult, his daughters to rape, himself and family to starvation and exile? Let it be answered by every virtuous man and woman in letters of gold, big with meaning, No!” Like Rigdon, he asked the Massachusetts legislature to instruct its congressional delegation to use whatever legal means were available “for redress of our wrongs; and through you to the general government.”<sup>61</sup>

Like other appeal writers, Packard identified himself as “an American citizen.” He invoked Massachusetts’s rebellion against the “tyrant’s chain” in forming the United States, and firmly believed that the Mormon case “comes within the power of the general government, and that they are bound, not only by every principle of justice, but also by law, to see that justice is meted out to every son and daugh-

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<sup>60</sup>Rigdon, “To the Honorable . . . Representatives of Pennsylvania,” 1.

<sup>61</sup>Packard, “The Following Memorial,” 2.

ter of our national republic.” Packard, too, saw the Missouri persecutions as evidence of the weakening of American laws and institutions. The appeal of Packard and others called the nation to remember and fulfill its founding power and promise.<sup>62</sup> Otherwise, the United States was merely a despotic, tyrannous country, a land of pretended liberty in which its citizens were denied freedom and protection. Packard concluded by telling the Massachusetts legislature “that the civil and religious liberties sought for and found by the pilgrims on Plymouth rock, and maintained by the blood of our fathers, have been sacrificed by relentless tyrants, upon the altar of jealousy.”<sup>63</sup>

### THE ABUSE OF MORMON WOMEN

The appeals to the states highlighted the abuse of Mormon women in Missouri.<sup>64</sup> In *Mormon Redress Petitions*, editor Clark Johnson states that no women testified that they had been raped and only two general narrative petitions mention rape among the list of wrongs suffered in the gruesome accounts of the expulsion.<sup>65</sup> Two testimonies sworn before the Municipal Court in Nauvoo in July 1843 give slightly more detail about the rape of Mormon women, but even these accounts do not give names, dates, or places. While the general reticence about sexual matters in antebellum America may account for such avoidance, the point here is not the historical fact (or otherwise) that Missourians raped Mormon women but that accusations of rape functioned as a rhetorical trope that potentially had immense power to mobilize public sympathy.

In one of these affidavits, Hyrum Smith testified before the Nauvoo Municipal Court on July 1, 1843, that he had heard Missourians boast of the “many rapes” they had committed, “and what squealing and kicking there was among the damned bitches, saying that they lashed one woman upon one of the damned Mormon meeting benches, tying her hands and her feet fast, and sixteen of them abused her as much as they had a mind to, and then left her

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>Greene, “Expulsion of the Mormons,” and Parley P. Pratt, “History of the Late Persecution Inflicted by the State of Missouri upon the Mormons.”

<sup>65</sup>Johnson, *Mormon Redress Petitions*, 3.

bound and exposed in that distressed condition.”<sup>66</sup> The same day and in the same setting, Parley P. Pratt also testified that he had heard Missouri soldiers name “one or two individual females of our society, whom they had forcibly bound, and twenty or thirty of them, one after another, committed rape upon them.” Pratt confirmed that one woman was a daughter of a family “with whom I have been long acquainted, and with whom I have since conversed and learned that it was truly the case.”<sup>67</sup> As with other mentions of rape, it would have been considered a violation of privacy and sensitivity to good manners to use individuals’ names.

Unlike the early redress petitions, the state appeals speak openly, even frequently, about the abuse and rape of Mormon women. The state appeals to Maine and Massachusetts, by Benjamin Andrews and Phineas Richards respectively, describe in detail the horror of the Haun’s Mill Massacre, details that both Joseph Smith’s Vermont and Parley Pratt’s New York appeals omitted.<sup>68</sup> Andrews underscored the Missourians’ barbaric effects by describing the slaughter of men, women, and children and forcing hundreds of surviving women and little children to brave “the winter blasts in a naked situation” leaving them destitute and hurrying “them to a premature grave.”<sup>69</sup>

Without homes, claimed Rigdon, women gave birth to babies and struggled to care for them and older children exposed to the inclemency of the weather. They lived, Rigdon declared in his appeal to

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<sup>66</sup>Testimony of Hyrum Smith, July 1, 1843, Nauvoo City Records, MS 16800, Box 5, fd. 14. Smith stated that he heard these boasts while he was under guard in Daviess County in April 1839. The men who made the boasts served as jail guards and the jury for the trial, according to Smith’s testimony.

<sup>67</sup>Testimony of Parley P. Pratt, July 1, 1843, Nauvoo City Records, MS 16800, Box 5, fd. 14.

<sup>68</sup>Benjamin Andrews, “An Appeal to the People of the State of Maine,” 1; Richards, “An APPEAL to the INHABITANTS of Massachusetts,” 2; Smith, Journal, November 30, 1843, and February 2, 1844. For more on the Haun’s Mill Massacre and the Mormon-Missouri conflict, see LeSueur, *The 1838 Mormon War in Missouri*, and Baugh, *A Call to Arms: The 1838 Mormon Defense of Northern Missouri*.

<sup>69</sup>Andrews, “An Appeal to the People of the State of Maine,” 1.



Pennsylvania, like animals.<sup>70</sup> He also told of the physical and sexual abuse of women, the rape of young daughters, and murder of women. Mormon women “were insulted and ravished, until they died in the hands of their destroyers. Children were killed, while pleading for their lives,” according to Rigdon. He continued: “our women ravished . . . our wives and children driven into the prairies, and made to suffer all the indignities that the most brutal barbarity could inflict.”<sup>71</sup> Calling on man’s natural and cultural instinct to protect women, Rigdon demanded: “What crime can any man commit, it matters not how flagrant, which can, according to the laws of the civilized world, subject his wife to insult, his daughters to rape, his property to public plunder, his children to starvation, and himself and family to exile. The very character of the outrage is all the testimony I think your honorable body can ask.”<sup>72</sup>

American culture at the time assigned white women the virtues of chastity and inherent modesty. Rigdon’s portrait of the degradation of chastity, female virtue, and family sanctity represented, metaphorically, the raping of the whole Mormon people as he described “the shrieks of insulted and abused females—and many of them widows of revolutionary patriots” which would arouse true American men’s instinctive reaction to protect women, children, and their citizenship.<sup>73</sup> Anthony Rotundo in his study of American manhood describes these themes, how female identity is tied to that of the male, and how ungoverned manhood becomes a destructive force. Along these lines, Rigdon’s message, like others that followed, indicted Missouri men as abandoning self-control, a main tenet of manhood in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>74</sup>

Like Sidney Rigdon’s message, Alphonso Young’s address to Tennessee depicted scenes of rape and murder. “Men were driven from their homes,” he recalled, “and many women who were endeavoring to make their escape, were caught in their flight, and ravished to

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<sup>70</sup>Rigdon, “To the Honorable . . . Representatives of Pennsylvania,” 1.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid.

<sup>74</sup>E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), 4–6, 22–30, 106.

death! One young woman was tied down fast, and forced by a cursed brutal mob, until she expired in agony!”<sup>75</sup> Young begged the people of Tennessee not to tolerate such crimes against humanity and specifically enlisted the “fair daughters of my native State” and men “who prize the female virtues” in the Mormon cause.<sup>76</sup> Finally, the plunder, rape, and murder that occurred, according to Noah Packard’s Massachusetts message, “would have disgraced a savage war in their wildest state” and were in “open violation to the laws of the whole civilized world.”<sup>77</sup> The “dying groans of the ravished females and infant innocence, are ascending with the prayers of the widows and patriots of the revolution,” Packard concluded. Such actions disgraced and stained the “banner of our national republic.”<sup>78</sup> Though these claims have no particular names or dates associated, which renders corroboration impossible, they stressed a rhetorical call to protect American manhood and to encourage assistance to a raped people.

#### THE THEME OF OBEDIENCE TO REVELATION

The appeals written to the states also helped fulfill what the Mormons viewed as inspired revelation. Phineas Richards’s appeal to Massachusetts delved into a religious mandate that previous addresses mentioned only indirectly. In December 1833, at the early stages of the Missouri persecutions, Joseph Smith dictated a revelation employing the biblical parable of the widow and the unjust judge, an official who feared neither God nor man.<sup>79</sup> The revelation specifically directed Church members to “importune at the feet of the Judge; and if he heed them not, let them importune at the feet of the governor; and if the governor heed them not, let them importune at the feet of

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<sup>75</sup>Young, “An Appeal to the State of Tennessee,” 1.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

<sup>77</sup>Packard, “The Following Memorial,” 2.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid.

<sup>79</sup>Joseph Smith Jr., Oliver Cowdery, Sidney Rigdon, and Frederick G. Williams, *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of the Latter Day Saints: Carefully Selected from the Revelations of God* (Kirtland, Ohio: F. G. Williams & Co., 1835), Section 97, given December 1833, 239–40 (hereafter D&C 1835). It appears in the current (1981) edition of the LDS Doctrine and Covenants 101:76–101. The biblical reference is Luke 18:1–8.

the President.”<sup>80</sup> If the president disregarded the Saints’ plight, “then will the Lord arise and come forth out of his hiding place, and in his fury vex the nation.”<sup>81</sup> In essence, the revelation commanded LDS members to engage in temporal politics and continually raise awareness of and demand redress for the wrongs they had suffered in hopes of wearing down the judges or government officials until they received their due. Phineas Richards quoted this scripture and told the people of Massachusetts that the Mormons would continue to seek after justice and redress for wrongs as it was the course directed “by the God of heaven.”<sup>82</sup> Richards’s appeal is the first time that outsiders, and possibly some members of the Church, understood the religious intent behind these documents and the larger appeal process. In accordance with the revelation, Richards stated:

We as a people, have sought redress for those grievances in the courts of Missouri. We have sought for our civil rights, and the restoration of our embezzled property, in the Legislative hall of Missouri but in vain. We have petitioned the President to intercede for us, and what is the result? President Martin Van Buren said “your cause is just, but Government has no power to redress you.” We have laid the case before the honorable Senate of these United States, and the cold return,

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<sup>80</sup>D&C 1835, 239. Probably in accordance with this revelation, Joseph Smith declared in his 1844 letter to John C. Calhoun that he would continue petitioning judges and political authorities while he had “powers of body and mind” to “plead the cause of injured innocence, until Missouri makes atonement for all her sins—or sinks disgraced, degraded and damned to hell.” He added: “If the Latter Day Saints are not restored to all their rights, and paid for all their losses, according to the known rules of justice and judgment, reciprocation and common honesty among men, . . . God will come out of his hiding place and vex this nation with a sore vexation—yea the consuming wrath of an offended God shall smoke through the nation, with as much distress and woe as independence has blazed through with pleasure and delight.” Smith, Letter to Calhoun, January 2, 1844. For more on the December 1833 revelation and shifting Mormon political engagement, see Mark Ashurst-McGee, “Zion Rising: Joseph Smith’s Early Social and Political Thought” (Ph.D. diss., Arizona State University, 2008).

<sup>81</sup>D&C 1835, 240.

<sup>82</sup>Richards quoted directly from the 1835 Doctrine & Covenants in this appeal.

is poor consolation. Hundreds of thousands have been paid in gold and silver, at the United States' Land Office for lands in Missouri; and shall those who have been driven from the State, at the point of the bayonet remain silent and give up all for lost? No, we cannot!<sup>83</sup>

Richards emphasized that Mormons would not desist in their efforts, not only because Mormons shared a common American heritage with his audience, but also because of God's mandate.

Benjamin Andrews outlined a similar path that the Mormons had taken to fulfill the revelation: "We have sought for justice in the courts of that state; we have presented our memorial to the legislature, humbly praying for the restoration of our property and our rights as American citizens. We have expended thousands and thousands of dollars in various attempts to recover our just claims."<sup>84</sup> Referring to the Frierson memorial of late November 1843, Andrews's appeal informed its Maine audience that the Mormons had resumed their efforts to be restored to their rights and property in Congress and would continue to contend for their "injured rights" to "test the efficacy of the government to the core."<sup>85</sup>

#### THE JOSEPH SMITH PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN

In the spring of 1844, the Mormon community turned its attention to Joseph Smith's presidential campaign, which came to embody the Mormon political voice. It emphasized many of the themes that emerged in the appeals, perhaps the most prevalent being the Mormon effort to defend American republicanism and strengthen federal powers. The glory of American liberty waned, ran the argument, because the people were not secure in their constitutional rights. Benjamin Andrews believed, like his fellows, that the end of that liberty was in sight due to "the lesson we have so recently learned from the executive of a sovereign state, admonish[ing] us that the day of American liberty is on the wane." The painful experiences of the Mormons in Missouri provided an illustration. He referred generally to murders, robberies, and the ejection of "fourteen thousand persons" from their homes and stated that any such incident "should suf-

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<sup>83</sup>Richards, "An Appeal, to the Inhabitants of Massachusetts," 2.

<sup>84</sup>Andrews, "An Appeal to the People of the State of Maine," 1.

<sup>85</sup>*Ibid.*

fuse with tears the face of every American.”<sup>86</sup>

Joseph Smith’s campaign determined to arrest the “progress of that tendency . . . and restore the Government to its pristine health and vigor.” His presidential platform argued that the U.S. president should have “full power to send an army to suppress mobs” and proposed legislative action to “repeal and impugn that relic of folly which makes it necessary for the Governor of a State to make the demand of the President for troops, in case of invasion or rebellion.”<sup>87</sup>

To make Smith’s candidacy viable, a national campaign was required to gain the support of independent electors—those not affiliated with national political parties who made official submissions of electoral votes for the president in each state. At a special conference in early April 1844, Brigham Young, as president of the Quorum of the Twelve, sent nearly 350 men to twenty-five states and one territory “to preside over the different states, (to) appoint conferences in *all places* in their several states where opportunities present, and (to) attend ALL the conferences, or send experienced and able elders—who will preach the truth in righteousness, and present before the people ‘General Smith’s views of the power and policy of the General Government;’ and seek diligently to get up electors who will go for him for the presidency.”<sup>88</sup> These missionaries would also take with them the messages central to Mormon political thought described in the recent appeals to the states, thereby making those documents crucial to the meaning of Joseph Smith’s incipient presidential campaign.

By the end of May, however, turmoil hit Nauvoo as the growing plot to kill Smith penetrated nearly every aspect of city life. It grew to a fever pitch by mid-June, and Nauvoo authorities began taking affidavits from any well-informed and trustworthy person about any

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<sup>86</sup>Ibid.

<sup>87</sup>“General Smith’s Views on the Powers and Policy of the Government of the United States,” *Nauvoo Neighbor*, May 8, 1844, [2]; published under the same title as a pamphlet (Nauvoo: John Taylor, 1844). See also Robert S. Wicks and Fred R. Foister, *Junius and Joseph: Presidential Politics and the Assassination of the First Mormon Prophet* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2005); and Richard D. Poll, “Joseph Smith and the Presidency, 1844” and Martin B. Hickman, “The Political Legacy of Joseph Smith,” *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 3, no. 3 (Fall 1968): 17–36.

<sup>88</sup>“Special Conference,” *Times and Seasons*, April 15, 1844, [504–5]; emphasis in original.

knowledge of attempts made or being made to continue to harass and assassinate Smith and the Latter-day Saints in Nauvoo and surrounding areas. Two of these affidavits provide insights into what would have made the strongest case for a federal response to date.

As early as June 17, 1844, Church authorities knew that armed men, a cannon, and munitions of war were being transported in steamboats from Missouri to Illinois to buttress the efforts of local anti-Mormons. Hyrum and Joseph Smith planned to communicate these facts to Thomas Ford, governor of Illinois, and to U.S. president John Tyler.<sup>89</sup> That steamboats were being used to transport men and goods over navigable waters of the U.S. warranted federal action under the Constitution's interstate commerce clause: Article 1, Section 8, Clause 3. This clause empowers Congress "to regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among several States, and with the Indian Tribes." In the understanding of the time "commerce" also meant exchanges between citizens of different states including social communications and the mere passage of persons from one state to another. In the 1824 U.S. Supreme Court case *Gibbons v. Ogden*, Chief Justice John Marshall defined commerce as traffic and intercourse that included a federal "power to regulate navigation" and transactions crossing the "jurisdictional lines of the several states." The Marshall court further ruled that federal law must take precedence in the exercise of power over interstate commerce and navigable waters.<sup>90</sup>

On June 20, 1844, Nauvoo city recorder Willard Richards took an affidavit from Carlos W. Lyon, who stated that, three days earlier while he was in St. Louis, he heard that people (he did not name any individuals) in that city furnished arms and ammunition by steamboat to the anti-Mormon alliance at Warsaw, Illinois.<sup>91</sup> Lyon also reported hearing that if the "people of Warsaw need 500 men, to give notice by the steamer Boreas and the men should be sent from St.

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<sup>89</sup>Hyrum Smith and Joseph Smith, Letter to Brigham Young and the Twelve Apostles, June 17, 1844, MS 155, Box 2, fd. 8.

<sup>90</sup>*Gibbons v. Ogden* (1824) in Michael Les Benedict, ed., *Sources in American Constitutional History* (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath and Company, 1996), 61–65.

<sup>91</sup>Carlos W. Lyon, a Mormon, lived in Nauvoo as early as 1841 where he ran a drugstore and general store at Nauvoo where he offered dry goods, groceries, crockery, glass, hardware, and medicines. He received goods via steamer, likely from St. Louis. "New Arrival," *Times and Seasons*, May 1,



Louis" to Warsaw. And finally, Lyon declared that he personally saw a cannon landed from the steamer *Mermaid*, at Warsaw.<sup>92</sup> Though Lyon's affidavit lacks circumstantial and corroborating details, it was still accepted by the Nauvoo City Council as legitimate.<sup>93</sup> The Mormon leaders hoped that this and the following sworn affidavit would elicit the notice of the governor and the U.S. President and that they would make an effort to further investigate the case.

The second affidavit was made the same day by John P. Greene and John M. Bernhisel, who appeared before Aaron Johnson, a Hancock County justice of the peace, and testified that a body of citizens in a mass meeting convened on June 13–14 at Carthage "resolved to exterminate the latter day saints" in Nauvoo. They further stated that "armed men are coming from the state of Missouri and also from the territory of Iowa and that cannon and ammunition are being transported from the State of Missouri to Illinois for the purpose of utterly exterminating the Latter-day Saints." Finally, the two men stated that the armed men and arms were coming by steamboats up the Mississippi. Since the transportation of the men, arms, cannon, and munitions of war was to occur across navigable waters of the United States, from one state to another, this affidavit demonstrated interstate commerce, which placed the matter squarely in federal jurisdiction.<sup>94</sup>

After Smith received copies of these affidavits, on June 20, he wrote a short letter to President John Tyler to make a case for federal regulation of the interstate commerce of men and weaponry. He reported urgently that that Missourians, "not content with robbery, driving, and murdering many of the Latter day saints, are now joining the mob of this state." The Mormon leader pled for the president to "render that protection which the constitution guarantees" to protect his people from another persecution of an allied, interstate mob. Smith sent copies of the Lyon and Greene/Bernhisel affidavits both to President Tyler and to Governor Ford as evidence that Missouri and Illinois mobbers had joined together to carry out the "utter exter-

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1841, 405; "Guide to Health," *Times and Seasons*, February 15, 1842, 702.

<sup>92</sup>Carlos W. Lyon, Affidavit, June 20, 1844, MS 21600, Box 1, fd. 51.

<sup>93</sup>Church Historian's Office, Manuscript History of the Church, F-1, 132, CR 100 102.

<sup>94</sup>John P. Green and John M. Bernhisel, Affidavit, June 20, 1844, MS 21600, Box 1, fd. 51.

mination of the Mormons.”<sup>95</sup>

But only seven days later, before Tyler could have received the letter and affidavits, Smith had been killed; and any momentum to receive redress that this new interpretation of interstate affairs may have produced died with him.

### CONCLUSION

In just six months, beginning in November 1843, the Mormons made a significant political effort to have their voices heard nationwide. These documents reveal how this outsider religious group depicted itself as springing from a Revolutionary heritage that made it a body of defenders of American republicanism, as defenders of American manhood, and as American citizens worthy of the rights and benefits that came with that title.

The appeals, however, generated little, if any, support for the Mormon cause. There was little that each state could or would do to convince the president or Congress that it could interfere in a state matter. Moreover, though the Mormon appeals attempted to make common cause with Americans, the nationalist approach that they advocated would have likely been adverse to the way most Americans envisioned governmental power. In addition to the memorials, letters, and appeals, Joseph Smith launched a presidential campaign with a full platform dedicated to ensuring the promises of American liberty. A presidential campaign run by the founding Mormon prophet seemed the only way to achieve that objective. It also failed as fatal events overtook Smith's plans.

Nevertheless, each of the petitions to the states, though similar in themes and occasionally similar in phrasing, stands as a unique representation of Mormon erudition. Not only did the Mormons articulate their claim as Americans, but they also demonstrated their dedication to American principles of liberty in an effort to align themselves with the majority body politic. These documents reveal important facets of the collective Mormon mind and their emerging national political voice to end what they viewed as the injustice of systemic prejudice in the United States just before the murder of the first Mormon prophet.

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<sup>95</sup>Joseph Smith, Letter to John Tyler, June 20, 1844, MS 155, Box 7, fd. 14.



*William R. Campbell, student at Union Theological Seminary, New York, c. 1886. Courtesy, The Burke Library, Archival Collections, Union Theological Seminary, New York.*

# **“ABOUT THE WORST MAN IN UTAH”: WILLIAM R. CAMPBELL AND THE CRUSADE AGAINST BRIGHAM H. ROBERTS, 1898–1900**

*R. Douglas Brackenridge*

FOR DIFFERENT REASONS, BOTH FRIENDS and foes of William R. Campbell agreed on one thing: He was “about the worst man in Utah.” A veteran Presbyterian home missionary, Campbell was a pivotal figure in the national crusade (1898–1900) to bar Representative-Elect Brigham Henry Roberts from taking his seat in Congress. In conjunction with the Roberts episode, Campbell also spearheaded an effort to pass an anti-polygamy amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Latter-day Saints viewed Campbell as a tenacious polemicist who denigrated their theology, defamed their integrity, and misrepresented conditions in Utah.

During an interview with a New York newspaper editor in 1899, Charles W. Penrose, editor of the *Deseret Evening News*, charged that Roberts was the victim of malicious propaganda promulgated by dis-

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gruntled Protestant missionaries in Utah. "They are mostly men of small caliber," he said, "and many of them are dishonest; by dishonest, I mean that they are not fair." When asked to give specific examples, Penrose cited Methodist Bishop Thomas C. Iliff as one who socialized with Mormons and then went east and lied about conditions in Utah. In a follow-up question, the interviewer asked Penrose, "What about Mr. Campbell, the Presbyterian missionary?" Without equivocation, Penrose responded, "He is far worse than Illef [sic]. He is about the worst man in Utah."<sup>1</sup>

In contrast to Penrose, Campbell's admirers extolled his accomplishments as a pastor, educator, writer, and editor, and praised his integrity and courage in the face of Mormon hostility that he encountered in Utah. One supporter said, "He is loved and honored for the enemies that he has made, no less than for the splendid work which he is doing for the Presbyterian Church and the American Home." Yet the writer agreed that, from a Mormon perspective, Penrose had correctly identified Campbell. "As Luther was doubtless 'the worse man in Germany,' in the eyes of the Pope in his time, so it is not strange that Mr. Penrose considers Mr. Campbell a dangerous man; he would far rather have him live in New Jersey or Vermont than in Salt Lake City." In the same article, another Campbell devotee cited his "fidelity to truth, and to the Church that commissioned him to preach the Gospel in Utah. This is his crime. It is this that arouses the hostility of Mr. Penrose and fires his slanderous tongue."<sup>2</sup>

A number of scholarly monographs and articles have been written about the Roberts case. While varying in scope and depth of analysis, they agree that the generating impulse to oppose Roberts and to lobby for an anti-polygamy amendment emanated from Protestant clergymen in Utah who had a long history of conflict with Mormons. Most sources, however, either fail to mention Campbell or make only

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<sup>1</sup>"Mormonism as the Mormons See It," *New York Observer*, September 7, 1899, 295–96.

<sup>2</sup>"Presbyterian Missionaries in Utah," *New York Observer*, October 12, 1899, 461–62. Regarding religious persecution in Utah, see R. Douglas Brackenridge, "Persecuted Presbyterians and Hostile Mormons, 1870–1900: A Reappraisal," *Journal of Mormon History* 37, no. 3 (Summer 2011): 162–228, and R. Douglas Brackenridge, "Presbyterians and Latter-day Saints in Utah: A Century of Conflict and Compromise," *Journal of Presbyterian History* 80 (Winter 2002): 205–24.

passing references to his role in both activities.<sup>3</sup> A notable exception is Joan Smyth Iversen's insightful monograph on the role of women in anti-polygamy movements during 1880–1925. Iversen devotes several pages to Campbell's activities and credits him with organizing and orchestrating the Presbyterian women's campaign against Roberts. Due to the broad scope of her narrative, however, she could only highlight some aspects of his involvement. Neither was she able to trace the evolution of Campbell's opposition to Mormonism nor explain how he managed to exert such influence on the leaders of women's organizations.<sup>4</sup>

Several factors account for Campbell's relative anonymity in scholarly literature. He spent most of his career as a missionary teacher and preacher in a Mormon village in the Cache Valley. For a few years, he lived in Salt Lake City where he served as editor of a short-lived monthly religious newspaper that had limited circulation. His other publications consisted of anti-Mormon tracts and pamphlets designed primarily for denominational audiences. Moreover, during the B. H. Roberts crusade, Campbell did much of his work behind the scenes, concentrating on lobbying congressional legislators and motivating Presbyterian women's organizations. His subsequent attempts to secure passage of an anti-polygamy amendment were fleeting and futile. During the closing years of his life, Campbell devoted his energies to business rather than ministerial pursuits.

This article seeks to provide fuller biographical information about Campbell and to describe in detail his varied involvement in the Roberts crusade and its aftermath. Influences during his formative years as a youth, college and seminary student, and later, as missionary pastor in Utah, shaped his perceptions of Mormonism and motivated him to devote his formidable intellectual abilities and organizational skills to seek its extinction. I have gleaned information from primary sources in the archives of Westminster College, LDS

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<sup>3</sup>For example, William Griffin White Jr., "The Feminist Campaign for the Exclusion of Brigham Henry Roberts from the Fifty-Sixth Congress," *Journal of the West* 17 (January 1978): 45–52; Davis Bitton, "The B. H. Roberts Case of 1898–1900," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 25 (January 1957): 27–45, and Truman G. Madsen, *Defender of the Faith: The B. H. Roberts Story* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1980), 241–71.

<sup>4</sup>Joan Smyth Iversen, *The Antipolygamy Controversy in U.S. Women's Movements, 1880–1925* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1997), 189–91.



Church History Library, University of Utah, Utah State University, the Presbyterian Historical Society in Philadelphia, and San Francisco Theological Seminary in San Anselmo, California, and have also obtained relevant articles in periodicals and contemporary newspapers online and through interlibrary loans.

William Richard Campbell was born October 2, 1857, on the family farm in the township of Fishing Creek, Columbia County, Pennsylvania. His parents, James Isaac Campbell and Katherine Savage Campbell, were devout Christians and members of the Orangeville Presbyterian Church, a small rural congregation organized in 1842 by Northumberland Presbytery. The Campbells were descendants of Scottish and Scots-Irish (Ulster) Presbyterian immigrants who came to America during the colonial era seeking religious freedom and relief from royal absolutism. Initially they settled up and down the eastern seacoast but most sailed to the middle colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania where they enjoyed religious toleration, for the most part, from government authorities.<sup>5</sup> As a child, Campbell and his siblings, James, Mary, and Sarah, were nurtured by their parents in the ethos of the theology, piety, and polity of the Reformed (Calvinistic) tradition. Family worship, Bible study, and catechetical instruction based on *The Westminster Confession of Faith* were integral parts of their daily lives. His father, and later his brother, served as ruling elders in the congregation. In such an atmosphere, Campbell grew up in a religious environment that emphasized both the head and the heart, one that called for intellectual acumen and emotional commitment.<sup>6</sup>

Campbell's upbringing provided the impetus for his decision to become an ordained Presbyterian minister and missionary teacher. Because the Orangeville Church shared its pastor with other small mission churches in the area, Campbell had experiential knowledge

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<sup>5</sup>For a concise introduction to American Presbyterian theology and history, see James H. Smylie, *A Brief History of the Presbyterians* (Louisville, Ky.: Geneva Press, 1996).

<sup>6</sup>Biographical information about Campbell's family background is based on a letter from Glenn Campbell, the subject's grandnephew, to me, April 29, 1991. Information about the Orangeville congregation is derived from statistics in the *Minutes of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publications, 1870–80).

of the importance of home missions in facilitating evangelistic outreach and church growth.<sup>7</sup> One of his pastors, David Jewett Waller Jr., a graduate of Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania, and of Union Theological Seminary in New York City, played a prominent role in shaping Campbell's educational experiences and vocational choice. Although Waller stayed only a short period of time in Orangeville, he influenced Campbell to follow in his footsteps to Lafayette and Union Theological Seminary and to embark on a ministerial career as a home missionary.<sup>8</sup>

In a rare autobiographical reminiscence, Campbell attributed his initial awareness of the dangers of Mormonism to an experience as a youth in the Orangeville Church during the administration of U.S. President Rutherford B. Hayes (1877–81). His pastor made a pulpit appeal for volunteers to circulate petitions requesting Congress to pass antipolygamy legislation to abolish the Mormon practice of plural marriage. According to Campbell, "The women undertook to circulate petitions to secure the signature of every voter in that county; and I myself, though then a boy, volunteered to help them. I traveled many miles over rough roads to reach every voter, so that all might have a chance to register their protest against the crime of polygamy. In all this effort I was urged on by the irresistible impulse which I had received by the appeal made by the church for the honor of womanhood."<sup>9</sup>

In the fall of 1879, Campbell entered Lafayette College, a Presbyterian Church-related institution in Easton, Pennsylvania, and re-

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<sup>7</sup>In Presbyterian terminology, "missions," "mission churches," and "mission schools" refer to denominational organizations that were not self-supporting financially and relied on aid from denominational boards and agencies to meet operating expenses. While serving in Utah, for example, Campbell received his salary from the Board of Home Missions in New York as was the case of most of his ministerial colleagues in Utah Territory.

<sup>8</sup>Waller Family Papers, 1740–1912, Record Group 262, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

<sup>9</sup>William R. Campbell, Letter to Sarah F. Lincoln, November 13, 1893, Record Group 111–4–14, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives. Another member of the Orangeville congregation, Miss Clara C. Decker, served as a Presbyterian missionary teacher in Monroe, Utah, from 1882 to 1887. Frederick G. Burton, *Presbyterians in Zion* (New York: Vantage Press, 2010), 508.

ceived his undergraduate degree in 1883. During Campbell's years at Lafayette, he matured intellectually in an academic setting noted for its emphasis on the development of writing and oral communication skills and the encouragement of scientific inquiry and experimentation. Grade transcripts indicate that he was an excellent student, scoring in the mid- and high-90s in all of his classes. While at Lafayette, he joined the Franklin Literary Society, a student-led group that encouraged members to develop oratorical and writing skills outside the classroom. At their weekly meetings, students delivered original orations, readings, declamations, and essays and engaged in refereed debates. In this highly competitive atmosphere, Campbell honed literary and verbal skills that stood him in good stead throughout his ministerial career.<sup>10</sup>

Concurrently Campbell received a comprehensive introduction to Reformed theology from Presbyterian clergy who served on the college faculty. Attendance at daily chapel and Sunday worship services and participation in student prayer groups afforded a spiritual framework for intellectual inquiry. A number of Lafayette students were preparing for the Presbyterian ministry, many of them opting to serve as home or foreign missionaries. During Campbell's senior year, Lafayette was the scene of a spontaneous religious revival that made a great impact on students and faculty. The student newspaper reported that "sleeping Christians were awakened, sinners were arrested in the midst of their sins, the most thoughtless were led to think, and active Christians were built up and strengthened. The experience of the last few days will be lasting in their effects upon the life and thought of the college."<sup>11</sup>

At Campbell's graduation ceremonies in June 1883, Charles Emory Smith, editor of the *Philadelphia Press*, delivered the com-

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<sup>10</sup>Information on Campbell courtesy of Diane Shaw, Special Collections Librarian and College Archivist, February 26, 2007, and "Historical Sketch of Franklin Literary Society," Skillman Library Records, Lafayette College, <http://archives.lafayette.edu/sites/archives.lafayette.edu/files/franklin.pdf> (accessed August 17, 2012). For background on Lafayette, see David B. Skillman, *The Biography of a College: A History of the First Century of the Life of Lafayette College*, 2 vols. (Easton, Penn.: Lafayette College, 1932).

<sup>11</sup>"The Revival," *Lafayette College Journal*, April 1883, 8–9. The periodical is available online in the college's digital collections. <http://cdm.lafayette.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/newspaper&CISOPTR=>



*Graduating class of 1883, Lafayette College. William R. Campbell is the third row from the top, second right, holding a walking stick. Courtesy Skillman Library, Archives and Special Collections, Lafayette College.*

mencement address. Smith emphasized the growing importance of journalism as a profession, stating that it was fast outstripping all of the other professions in terms of its activities and achievements. He further asserted that “the influence and power of the newspaper press were never before as great as now” and that they could be employed to make the public aware of “moral agitations and intellectual ferments and industrial progress.” At the conclusion of his address, students gave him a standing ovation.<sup>12</sup> Campbell apparently took Smith’s word to heart. He later made great use of the secular

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28802&CISOSHOW=28786&REC=17 (accessed August 17, 2012).

<sup>12</sup>“Commencement Address,” *Lafayette College Journal*, July 1883, 8–9, <http://cdm.lafayette.edu/cdm4/document.php?CISOROOT=/newspaper&CISOPTR=27696&CISOSHOW=27680&REC=20> (accessed August 17, 2012).

and religious press in publicizing his anti-Mormon activities as a Utah pastor and Washington lobbyist.

From 1883 to 1886, Campbell pursued ministerial studies at Union Theological Seminary in New York City. Although Union historically had strong Presbyterian ties, the seminary welcomed students from all denominations, a daring ecumenical stance for the nineteenth century. Moreover, at a time when most seminaries sought isolation in small towns, Union's founders viewed New York City as an ideal setting to train ministers, missionaries, and religious educators for placement in a variety of fields of service. Seminary students saw first-hand the extremes of wealth and poverty, the interaction of diverse population cohorts, the machinations of political bosses, and the marvels of modern technology—all within the confines of the thriving metropolis.<sup>13</sup>

Under the tutelage of Charles A. Briggs, professor of Hebrew and cognate languages, Campbell broadened his theological perspectives. Briggs advocated a new approach to biblical studies that employed the same critical analysis of the Bible that scholars applied to other literary and historical writings. He supported this methodology while maintaining that the Bible was a trustworthy record of God's revelation.<sup>14</sup> Briggs also served as co-managing editor of the *Presbyterian Review*, a theological journal established in 1880 to provide a forum for discussion of contemporary trends and issues. One article in the *Review* by Robert G. McNiece, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Salt Lake City, described what he termed "the atrocious doctrines and horrible blasphemies which constitute the system known as Mormonism."<sup>15</sup> Campbell and his peers were avid readers of the *Review* and likely discussed the article and assimilated negative impressions of Mormon theology.

In regard to Mormonism, however, it was Professor Philip Schaff, a church historian of international stature, who made the

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<sup>13</sup>For institutional background, see Robert T. Handy, *A History of Union Theological Seminary in New York* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1987).

<sup>14</sup>For background on Briggs, see Lefferts A. Loetscher, *The Broadening Church: A Study of Theological Issues in the Presbyterian Church since 1869* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1954), 29–62.

<sup>15</sup>Robert G. McNiece, "Mormonism," *The Presbyterian Review* 2 (April 1881): 331–48.

greatest impact on Campbell at Union. Schaff's scathing appraisal of the new religious movement, one shared by most Protestant theologians at the time, reinforced negative attitudes formed in adolescence and proved foundational for Campbell's subsequent anti-Mormon activities. In one public lecture, later published in book form, Schaff had this (and more) to say about the Latter-day Saints:

I confess, I would fain pass over this sect in silence. It really lies out of the pale of Christianity and the church; for as to single corrupted elements of Christianity, these may be found even in Manicheism and Mohammedanism. Nor has it exerted the slightest influence on the general character and religious life of the American people, but has rather been repelled by it, even by force, as an element altogether foreign and infernal. . . . Unquestionably a remarkable appearance in the history of religious vagrancy of the human mind is this Mormonism. . . . If only half be true of what is reported in the public prints respecting the horrible "spiritual-wife system," as it is called, and other peculiarities of the Mormons, they are on a decidedly immoral and abominable track; so that the Americans cannot be particularly blamed for wishing to be rid of such a pest. . . . We need no new sects; there are already too many. We need no new revelation; the old is sufficient. America, to fulfill her mission, has only to present in its unity and beauty the old and eternally young church of Christ, according to the word of God and nearly two thousand years experience of Christian history, whose results are there embodied in so many denominations and sects, yet united in a common national life.<sup>16</sup>

Outside of class, Campbell had frequent contact with Presbyterian home missionary administrators whose headquarters were located in New York City. They utilized their proximity to seminaries such as Princeton and Union to recruit students to convert three "exceptional populations" to evangelical Christianity: "Pagan Indians, besotted [Hispanic] Catholics, and deluded Mormons." Indians and

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<sup>16</sup>Philip Schaff, *America: A Sketch of Its Political, Social, and Religious Character*, edited by Perry Miller (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1961), 198–204. Schaff's book was first published in 1855 but he continued to express negative opinions regarding Mormons throughout his career. For an overview of Schaff's career, see Stephen Ray Graham, *Cosmos in the Chaos: Philip Schaff's Interpretation of Nineteenth-Century American Religion* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans Publishing, 1995).



Hispanics were regarded to be of inferior racial stock and prone to negative traits such as alcoholism, indolence, and superstition. Mormons, however, presented a unique situation because they derived primarily from the very Anglo-Saxon lineage that Protestants prized so highly. To account for their defection from mainline Protestantism and stubborn resistance to evangelical preaching, Presbyterians theorized that converts to Mormonism had been “psychologized” (brain-washed) by Mormon leaders into accepting a morally corrupt religion. They deemed Mormonism to be a destructive cult that divided families, promoted sexual deviancy, disseminated heretical teachings, and threatened national unity.<sup>17</sup>

Denominational publications, readily available to seminary students, depicted Utah as a challenging mission territory in great need of young ministers and female teachers. Presbyterian missionaries described their status in Utah as analogous to that of overseas missionaries who lived in alien cultures and encountered daily “depredation” and potential martyrdom. An article in *Presbyterian Home Missions* in 1882 portrayed ministers and teachers in Utah as being “constantly exposed to all manner of insult, opposition and malicious slander.” As evidence, the writer presented a list of death threats, physical harassments, and other impediments to their work. “It may well be doubted,” he asserted, “if the laborers in far-off foreign fields are more isolated from Christian society, and compelled to endure great hardships, or to labor amidst great opposition and hostility, than the majority of the ministers and teachers in Utah.”<sup>18</sup>

Beyond these influences, New York newspapers kept Campbell and his classmates informed about Mormon activities on an almost daily basis. These reports highlighted the prevalence of polygamy in Utah and supported legislative efforts to arrest and incarcerate Mor-

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<sup>17</sup>For an overview of early Presbyterian home missions, see Clifford Drury, *Presbyterian Panorama: One Hundred and Fifty Years of National Missions History* (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Christian Education, 1952), Mark T. Banker, *Presbyterian Missions and Cultural Interaction in the Far Southwest* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

<sup>18</sup>Robert G. McNiece, “Spring Meeting of Presbytery of Utah,” *Presbyterian Home Missions* 11 (June 1882): 134–35, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

mon men who practiced plural marriage.<sup>19</sup> Another oft-repeated theme was the threat of Mormon growth and the group's aspiration to gain control of the federal government. Accounts of throngs of Mormon converts arriving in New York by ship on their way to Utah Territory reinforced the looming threat of the new religious movement to traditional Christianity. A front-page article in *The Sun* (New York) in 1883, "Mormons by the Hundred," described a shipload of Mormon immigrants disembarking from the steamship *Nevada*. The narrative characterized Mormonism as "a multiplying evil that seeks by political aims and theological tenets to overthrow the social and moral sway of Christianity. The Mormon is after great spoil. His brain is busy with empire and gain."<sup>20</sup>

By the time Campbell graduated from seminary in 1886, he had decided to seek ministerial ordination as a Presbyterian home missionary in Utah Territory.<sup>21</sup> Ordained by the Presbytery of New York (Presbyterian Church in the United States of America) on May 10, 1886, he spent several months during the summer supplying pulpits in rural congregations in the vicinity of Orangeville before leaving for Utah.<sup>22</sup> Well-versed in both Presbyterian and Mormon theology, Campbell commenced his ministerial calling as a soldier primed for battle rather than as a diplomat prepared for negotiation. But he was

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<sup>19</sup>For example, "Mormons on Mission Work," *New York Times*, October 22, 1883, 8; "For the Mormon Church," *New York Times*, June 24, 1884, 8; "The Mormon Kingdom," *New York Times*, January 6, 1885, 8; and "The Last Ditch of Mormonism," *New York Times*, February 22, 1886, 4.

<sup>20</sup>"Mormons by the Hundred," *The Sun* (New York), September 10, 1883, 1. See also "A Secret in Mormonism," *The Sun*, February 29, 1886, 6.

<sup>21</sup>Presbyterians are governed by four interrelated Church courts: local (congregations); regional (presbyteries and synods); and national (General Assemblies). Presbyteries are foundational to the system. Composed of ministerial and lay representatives from congregations in geographical proximity, presbyteries hold title to congregational properties and other assets, have the power to ordain ministers, approve or disapprove of ministerial appointments, and send commissioners to General Assemblies. For a concise description of Presbyterian church government and theology, see Donald K. McKim, ed., *Encyclopedia of the Reformed Faith* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992). The article on Polity (282–84) is a good starting point.

<sup>22</sup>Edgar S. Robinson, ed., *Ministerial Directory* (Oxford, Ohio: Minis-

not going to Utah alone. While a student at Union Seminary, he had met and courted Agnes Horn, a young public schoolteacher, who agreed to join him as a wife and missionary partner. After their marriage on September 15, 1886, they parted from family and friends and began their long train journey to Salt Lake City, the heartland of Mormon hegemony.<sup>23</sup>

The Campbells arrived in Utah during a tumultuous period of antipolygamy agitation. Congress had passed the Edmunds Act in 1882 which made unlawful cohabitation a misdemeanor punishable by six months imprisonment and a fine of up to \$600. It also disqualified polygamists and cohabitants from voting, holding public office, and serving on juries. A large force of deputy U.S. marshals conducted raids on “co-habs” that sometimes led to violence and engendered anger and bitterness among the Mormon populace. In 1886 Congress was debating the passage of more stringent antipolygamy legislation designed to eliminate the temporal power of the Mormon Church by ordering the U.S. attorney general’s office to forfeit and escheat to the United States all Church property in excess of \$50,000. As passed in 1887, in addition to confiscating Church property, the Edmunds-Tucker Act disfranchised all women, Mormon and non-Mormon in Utah, and placed territorial government in the hands of the federally appointed governor and the five-man Utah Commission.<sup>24</sup>

Campbell was originally assigned to serve as a missionary in Nephi; but after a few months, Utah Presbytery called him to serve as pastor of the Westminster Presbyterian Church in Salt Lake City, organized in 1885 with thirty-two members. The incumbent minister had departed on short notice due to illness, leaving the small congre-

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terial Directory Company, 1898): 1:200, and Charles R. Gillett, *Alumni Catalogue of the Union Theological Seminary 1836–1926* (New York: n.pub., 1926), 288.

<sup>23</sup>“The Mormon Missions of the Board of Home Missions,” *Presbyterian Home Missionary* 15 (October 1886): 221. The couple had one child, Agnes Horn Campbell, born on August 8, 1892, in Mendon, Utah.

<sup>24</sup>For background on the Edmunds-Tucker Act, see Richard S. Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy: A History*, 2d ed. (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1989): 115–24, and Thomas G. Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition: A History of the Latter-day Saints, 1890–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 3–13.



*William R. Campbell and wife Agnes Horn Campbell, date unknown but possibly ca. 1886 at the time of their wedding. They resided in Mendon, Utah, 1889-97. Permission granted by Utah State University Press to use the photograph from A. J. Simmonds, *The Gentile Comes to Cache Valley* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1976), 52.*

gation in desperate straits for leadership. The hurried move to Westminster Church thrust Campbell into a challenging assignment for a young minister with no pastoral experience. Displaying personality traits that prevailed throughout his ministerial career, Campbell immediately became embroiled in a dispute that evoked extended presbytery disciplinary hearings and resulted in his transfer to another assignment. He clashed with ruling elder C. H. Parsons over the supervision of Sunday School activities, insisting that Parsons, a layman, submit to his ministerial oversight. According to Presbyterian government, Campbell had such authority, but he evinced neither tact nor sensitivity in its implementation.<sup>25</sup>

At a called meeting<sup>26</sup> of Utah Presbytery in June 1887, Campbell and Parsons presented their arguments and engaged in debate before members of presbytery. At the conclusion of the hearing, neither Campbell nor Parsons had modified his position. After expressing “our deep sorrow at the condition of affairs in this church,” the presbytery concluded: “We have no closure for bros. Campbell & Parsons, knowing the peculiar circumstances under which the work was begun; but we seriously question the wisdom of their course in some instances, and we deplore the spirit in which the controversy was allowed to grow.” While commending Campbell for his “careful adherence to Presbyterian law” and Parsons for his “faithful and efficient work in the Sabbath School,” the presbytery advised Parsons to affiliate with another Presbyterian congregation in Salt Lake City and directed Campbell to “withdraw from the field at as early a day as possible.”<sup>27</sup>

Campbell relocated to Provo where Presbyterians had previously opened a school in rented quarters. He and Agnes served as

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<sup>25</sup>For the history of Westminster Presbyterian Church, see Burton, *Presbyterians in Zion*, 435–41 and “Westminster Presbyterian,” *The Church Review* 4 (December 1895): 10–11, Westminster College Archives.

<sup>26</sup>In Presbyterian terminology, a “called meeting,” in contrast to a “stated meeting,” indicates that it was a subject that required immediate attention.

<sup>27</sup>Utah Presbytery, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, Minutes of Pro Re Nata Meetings, June 28–29, 1887, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives. All subsequent references to Presbyterian records and agencies are related to that denomination. The “peculiar circumstances” mentioned by presbytery likely refer to the fact that the emergency

teachers and hoped to secure funds to build a small chapel.<sup>28</sup> As a member of Utah Presbytery, however, Campbell continued to be involved in controversy concerning the future of Westminster Church. When some members of the Westminster congregation asked to have Campbell return as pastor, Utah Presbytery deemed it “inexpedient to grant the request” and voted instead to dissolve the Westminster Church. Only Campbell and a ruling elder from Westminster opposed the decision. Speaking on behalf of the congregation, Campbell charged the presbytery with failure to provide due process and asserted that, by dissolving the church, the presbytery “will encourage what is little better than out and out blackmailing.” When the presbytery rejected Campbell’s arguments, the congregation, following Campbell’s advice, lodged an appeal to the Synod of Utah.<sup>29</sup>

Synod minutes make no reference to the appeal; but in April 1888, for the fourth time, Utah Presbytery debated the future of Westminster Church. Noting that “about the only thing that has interrupted the general harmony and progress of our work the past year is the strife in the Westminster Church,” it reaffirmed its decision to dissolve the congregation. The presbytery justified its action because “the strife and trouble still continue to reproach our Presbyterian name . . . and prevents the church from reaching with the gospel a large part of that great and important community which it was specially established to reach.”<sup>30</sup> Although not mentioned by name, Campbell was the major instigator and sustainer of the Westminster controversy. He had brazenly challenged the wisdom of his ministerial peers and marred the reputation of the Presbyterian missionary enterprise in Salt Lake City—hardly an auspicious beginning for a young ministerial recruit.

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situation did not allow time to have Campbell formally installed as pastor when he arrived on the field.

<sup>28</sup>Utah Presbytery, Minutes, March 1887.

<sup>29</sup>Utah Presbytery, Minutes, October 25, 1887. In Presbyterian Church government, synods are groups of presbyteries in geographical proximity organized at state or larger regional levels that serve as courts of appeal for cases referred to them by presbyteries. They also provide general leadership and support for Church development and missionary activities.

<sup>30</sup>Utah Presbytery, Minutes, April 18, 1888. Westminster Church was reestablished in 1899 under new leadership. Burton, *Presbyterianism in Zion*, 435–42.



Campbell's stay in Provo was short lived. Because of a comity agreement with the Congregationalists, Utah Presbytery in August 1888 recommended "that we suspend work in Provo and that the Rev. W. R. Campbell be transferred within the next two months to such other vacant field within our bounds as he may choose." Campbell elected to serve in Mendon, a Mormon village of about 500 inhabitants in Cache Valley about 150 miles north of Salt Lake City.<sup>31</sup> Presbyterians had opened a day school in Mendon in 1883 and later erected a small chapel where ministers from Logan conducted Sunday worship services—but only infrequently. Presbyterians regarded Mendon and nearby Wellsville as extremely difficult missionary territories because of their reputation for cohesiveness and strict adherence to Mormon theology. The superintendent of Presbyterian missions in Utah once described Mendon as "a bigoted town" with no prospects of growth. Apparently Campbell relished the challenge that Mendon afforded, but he was never able to organize congregations either in Mendon or Wellsville due to a lack of adult converts to Presbyterianism.<sup>32</sup>

In Mendon Campbell taught advanced courses such as Latin and algebra to older students while Agnes served as a missionary teacher for primary students. Some of the older students later did advanced work at the Presbyterian academy in Logan and the Collegiate Institute in Salt Lake City.<sup>33</sup> According to Margaret E. Jensen who attended the Presbyterian school in Mendon, Campbell placed a small Bible and hymnbook on each desk at the beginning of each session. After a unison reading of one chapter from the Bible, students sang a hymn while Agnes played the organ. Next, students repeated the Preamble to the Constitution which they had committed to memory under the tutelage of their instructors. Only then did classes begin.

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<sup>31</sup>Report of the Superintendent of Missions of the Synod of Utah, 1895, Record Group 111-4-10, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives. See also Burton, *Presbyterians in Zion*, 494-500. A. J. Simmonds, *The Gentile Comes to Cache Valley* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1976), 15, 41-44, 68, documents tense relationships between Presbyterians and Mormons in Mendon prior to 1890.

<sup>32</sup>"Mendon Presbyterian Mission," *The Church Review* 4 (December 1895): 55; Westminster College Archives.

<sup>33</sup>J. Duncan Brite, Interview with Henry Jensen and Margaret E. Jensen, November 13, 1955, John Duncan Brite Papers (1878-1971), Special Collections, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University, Logan.

Jensen also remembered that, in addition to teaching and preaching in Mendon, Campbell supervised the work of the day school in Wellsville. On Sunday afternoons, he drove a horse and buggy to Wellsville where he taught Sunday School and held preaching services for the small group of village adherents.<sup>34</sup>

Campbell met with stiff resistance to his recruitment of students in Mendon and Wellsville because residents had been warned by Church leaders on numerous occasions not to patronize denominational schools. In 1887 Mendon's bishop, Henry Hughes, spoke of "how essential it is for us to keep our children away from these outside schools."<sup>35</sup> The following year, a counselor in the bishopric identified only by his surname, Wells, who "spoke of the great sin of sending our children to outside schools those of the Latter Day Saints who will do so will wither up and die spiritually."<sup>36</sup> Three years later, Elder James Willis again chastised Mendon parents, rebuking "the foolish and evil practice some of the Saints have fallen into of sending our children to Sectarian Schools to be taught incorrect doctrines the Parents of these children are certainly to be held responsible for their offspring under these circumstances."<sup>37</sup> In Wellsville, at a priesthood meeting in 1894, William L. Walton "spoke of going to Sunday school and he did not approve of our children going to sectarian school."<sup>38</sup> A year later, F. C. Gunnell said "that there was some things going on in Wellsville that had not ought to and referred to sending our children to presbyterian school." At the same meeting, George Bradshaw said "he

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<sup>34</sup>Margaret E. Jensen, Letter to J. Duncan Brite, January 9, 1956, John Duncan Brite Papers (1878–1971), Special Collections, Merrill-Cazier Library, Utah State University, Logan. For several years, Campbell edited a newspaper, *The Young People's Friends*. In 1891, Utah Presbytery commended "the good work done by Rev. Wm. Campbell through the publication of his paper" and recommended it as "worthy to be read by the young people generally." Utah Presbytery, Minutes, August 31, 1891.

<sup>35</sup>Mendon Ward, Sacrament Meeting Minutes, November 20, 1887, LDS Church History Library. All ward and stake minutes cited in this essay are from microfilm copies of originals housed in the library that I accessed during 1990–97.

<sup>36</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>37</sup>Mendon Ward, Sacrament Meeting Minutes, October 5, 1890.

<sup>38</sup>Wellsville Ward, Priesthood Meeting Minutes, December 23, 1894.

did not believe those sending their children to sectarian school had been converted to the gospel.”<sup>39</sup>

Shortly after Campbell arrived in Mendon, significant changes in the interface between Mormons and the outside world began to take place. In 1890 the Utah legislature approved a free tax-supported public school system, predicated on the separation of church and state, a radical departure from the territorial schools in which the integration of Mormon religion and pedagogy had been standard practice. In September of the same year, responding to the federal government’s seizure of Church holdings, President Wilford Woodruff issued a statement (later called the Manifesto) in which he advised the Latter-day Saints “to refrain from contracting any marriage forbidden by the law of the land.” The Manifesto did not, however, address the question of unlawful cohabitation nor did it state that polygamy was wrong or the law was right. Mormon reception of the “advice” was mixed and neither polygamy nor cohabitation ended overnight.<sup>40</sup>

Campbell maintained that he made sincere efforts to live peacefully within the tightly knit Mendon community, even though he saw and heard things that clashed with moral principles, in particular, the continuation of polygamous marriages and cohabitation. He averred that he “generally adopted the policy of silence so far as the outside world is concerned, being content to do what little good I might in a quiet way without doing anything to arouse the prejudice of those people.” His constant aim, he contended, was “to faithfully preach the Gospel which exalts God, respects the laws of the land, and makes man free, leaving other local questions for the Government officials, for the lecturers and for the newspapers to discuss.” As a result, Campbell said he received “the respect and friendship of the entire community” and was “accustomed to see pleasant smiles and to receive friendly greetings” as he traversed the community streets.<sup>41</sup>

Campbell’s self-reported success at living at peace with his Mormon neighbors is, however, at variance with statements from Mor-

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., February 10, 1895.

<sup>40</sup>Alexander, *Mormonism in Transition*, 3–15; Van Wagoner, *Mormon Polygamy*, 143–52. Not until 1904 did a Mormon Church president, Joseph F. Smith, authorize the excommunication of all who continued to contract new plural marriages.

<sup>41</sup>William R. Campbell, “Recent Mormon Outrages,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 19, 1893, 3.

mon sources. In 1893, the *Deseret Evening News* contended: "The minister Campbell has been generally offensive to the people [of Mendon], Mormon and non-Mormon, and they have let him severely alone." The townspeople reportedly had contemplated sending a petition to the head of the Presbyterian Mission Board asking him to remove Campbell "and send a white man in his place, that they might have a gentleman to represent the denomination."<sup>42</sup> Several incidents that occurred during the early years of his ministry lend credence to their unfavorable evaluation of Campbell's ministry in Mendon. The charges and counter-charges made by Campbell and Mormon authorities are impossible to resolve at this point in time. Both parties had different presuppositions and perspectives that colored their interpretation of events. What the incidents do reveal, however, is Campbell's penchant for engaging in anti-Mormon polemics long before his involvement in the anti-Roberts crusade.

In the spring of 1890, Campbell became irritated at the antics of young boys, referred to by Mormons as "rowdies" (gangs in modern parlance) who roamed the streets at night, harassing residents and engaging in acts of vandalism.<sup>43</sup> One evening Campbell confronted a group of rowdies who were yelling and throwing stones at his house. He collared one of the boys, pulled him into the house and administered a severe thrashing with a cane. The boy's parents pressed charges against Campbell for inflicting welts and bruises on their fourteen-year-old son. Campbell was arrested and briefly incarcerated. Contending that he could not get a fair hearing in Mendon, Campbell had the trial transferred to Logan about ten miles distant.<sup>44</sup>

Campbell pleaded self-defense, stating that the boy had taken part in a number of previous disturbances and deserved punishment

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<sup>42</sup>John Q. Cannon, "The Mendon Yarn," *Deseret Evening News*, October 23, 1893, 5.

<sup>43</sup>Mormon sources abound with references to incidents of uncontrolled vandalism by errant youths on Church members and outsiders like Campbell. In Mendon in 1888, Church leaders discussed how to deal with the problem of boys "who were in the habit of stealing; one boy has broken into the Bishop's Storehouse and stolen wheat there from, now what shall we do with him and others?" Mendon Ward, Priesthood Meeting Minutes, June 6, 1888. See also Davis Bitton, "Zion's Rowdies: Growing Up on the Mormon Frontier," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50 (Spring 1982) 182-95.

<sup>44</sup>"The Great Civil Suit," *Logan Journal*, June 21, 1890, 4.

for his actions. "Boys must be taught that it is a criminal offense to molest peaceable people in their homes, in their meetings, or on the streets," he said, "and parents of such boys must be taught that they are responsible for the actions of their children, and that they cannot with impunity charge a man with crime, when he is simply defending himself as best he can against lawlessness."<sup>45</sup> After listening to testimonies from both parties, the justice of the peace ruled in Campbell's favor and dismissed the case.<sup>46</sup> Not content to let the matter end with his judicial vindication, Campbell filed a civil suit against the boy's father asking for \$10,000 in damages due to loss of reputation and mental anguish. An exasperated contributor to the *Logan Journal* queried, "What under the blue vault of heaven does Mr. Campbell and his attorney, Mr. Lomax, expect to make out of this case?"<sup>47</sup> A few months later, however, Campbell abandoned the suit and paid the court costs involved.<sup>48</sup>

A year later in the summer of 1891, Campbell became the focal point of another controversy, this time involving Cache County elections in Logan. In 1891 Church authorities had counseled leaders of the Mormon-led People's Party to disband and encouraged citizens to affiliate with either the Democratic or Republican parties. A staunch Republican, Campbell charged Mormon Apostle Moses Thatcher with undue use of his priestly authority. In a letter published in the *Salt Lake Tribune* in August 1891, Campbell claimed that Thatcher instructed Mormon constituents to vote a straight Democratic ticket, thus ensuring the election of candidates favored by Church authorities. (And, in fact, the Democratic candidates won.) He accused Thatcher of "willfully [using] church influences to control the votes of the people of this valley. . . . Hence neither Moses Thatcher nor any other Mormon can blame the true Americans of the Territory for insisting that Utah must not have Statehood until the 'Gentiles' are in the majority. The American people always have and always will resent church interference in politics."<sup>49</sup>

Campbell's accusations triggered responses from Mormon newspaper editors who denied the accuracy of his description of

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<sup>45</sup>"The Minister Replies," *Logan Journal*, May 31, 1890, 4.

<sup>46</sup>"A Ruling Is a Ruling," *Logan Journal*, May 18, 1890, 2.

<sup>47</sup>"The Great Civil Suit," *Logan Journal*, June 21, 1890, 4.

<sup>48</sup>"District Court Notes," *Salt Lake Herald*, October 16, 1890, 3.

<sup>49</sup>"Up in Cache," *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 6, 1891, 4.

events surrounding the election. Charles W. Penrose, editor of the *Deseret Evening News* asserted that “the charge of Church dictation in Cache Valley politics has not the slightest foundation in fact” and urged citizens to accept election results “without bitterness and without recrimination.”<sup>50</sup> Penrose quoted at length from a letter by Calvin Reasoner, who stated that his conversations with eye-witnesses and analysis of polling results caused him to question Campbell’s credibility. “I do not say that his [Campbell’s] misrepresentations are willful . . . but I cannot reconcile his statements with a belief in his integrity, in any other way than to suppose him so bitterly prejudiced that he cannot see things as most men of reasonable and moderate temper and fairly good judgment would be likely to do.”<sup>51</sup> The *Salt Lake Tribune* countered Calvin Reasoner’s letter by defending Campbell and stating that it had “never heard his good faith or integrity ever challenged.”<sup>52</sup> Reasoner wrote another letter, this time including a statement signed by a group of “responsible citizens of Logan” who formed a part of the audience on the night in question. They declared that “to the best of our knowledge and belief” the statements made by Campbell were “utterly false and unfounded.” Included in the list of signers was Elijah W. Greene, pastor of the local Presbyterian Church, one of Campbell’s colleagues.<sup>53</sup>

C. R. W. Sloan, editor of the *Logan Journal* dismissed Campbell’s charges as “extremely absurd” and “absolutely without foundation.” After presenting his own eye-witness testimony of election proceedings, Sloan concluded, “If Mr. Campbell were not a disgruntled crank, and could be held fully responsible for what he says, we should declare him to be a falsifier.”<sup>54</sup> Campbell replied to Sloan in a sarcastic letter in which he “praised” the editor for his journalistic expertise:

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<sup>50</sup>Charles W. Penrose, “The Logan ‘Revolution,’” *Deseret Evening News*, August 14, 1891, 2. Penrose was editor of the *Deseret Evening News* from 1880 to 1892 and later from 1899 to 1906. The *Tribune*’s response is in “That Logan Matter,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 16, 1891, 2.

<sup>51</sup>Calvin Reasoner, “Church Dictation,” *Deseret Evening News*, August 14, 1891, 5.

<sup>52</sup>“That Logan Matter,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, August 16, 1891, 2.

<sup>53</sup>Calvin Reasoner, “The Cache County Election,” *Deseret Evening News*, August 21, 1891, 5.

<sup>54</sup>C. R. W. Sloan, “A Missionary Ninny,” *Logan Journal*, August 8,



I have been an admiring reader of your paper for two and a half years and during that time I have gleaned many a gem from your editorial pages. My friends have with me enjoyed many a "side-splitter" from these gleanings which have found their way into my scrap-book. . . . Please save me ten copies of that [August 8] issue. I will call for them as soon as I return to Cache Valley; and, if you will print this letter in your next issue, with such editorial comments as only you know how to make, I will order ten extra copies of that issue as well. . . . With many thanks for past favors, and hope for a continuance of the same, I am Yours, most sincerely and truly, Wm. R. Campbell.

Not to be outdone, Sloan headlined Campbell's letter, "Weak Minded. The Semi-Reverend W. R. Campbell Verifies the Statement."<sup>55</sup>

Two years later Campbell was again at the center of a controversy that received extensive coverage in the Logan and Salt Lake City newspapers. In October 1893, an editorial in the *Salt Lake Tribune* described alleged incidents of Mormons harassing Presbyterian schoolteachers and other non-Mormons. One in Mendon, based on information supplied by Campbell, involved a brutal attack on James Lamont, a local farmer who had converted from Presbyterianism to Mormonism in Scotland but had since become disenchanted with his new faith. His daughter, Mary Lamont, attended Campbell's school in Mendon and, with his assistance, had secured a scholarship to enroll in a Presbyterian academy in Salt Lake City. She had been living in the Campbell household awaiting the start of the fall semester.<sup>56</sup> According to the *Tribune*, James Lamont was hit from behind with a blunt instrument late one evening while he was leading some mules into a pasture. *Tribune* editor C. C. Goodwin cited these incidents as proof that Mormons were undeserving of statehood.<sup>57</sup>

Campbell heightened the tension by sending the *Tribune* a letter written by Lamont accompanied by a description of his own persecu-

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1891, 4.

<sup>55</sup>William R. Campbell, "Weak Minded. The Semi-Reverend W. R. Campbell Verifies the Statement," *Logan Journal*, August 15, 1891, 1.

<sup>56</sup>Mary Lamont matriculated at the Presbyterian Salt Lake Collegiate Institute where she met and married a Presbyterian minister, Theodore Keusseff, who spent his career in Utah as a missionary to the Mormons. See R. Douglas Brackenridge, "Theodore Keusseff: Sheldon Jackson's Sole Graduate," *The Westminster Review*, Winter 1996, 4-6.

<sup>57</sup>C. C. Goodwin, "Just As of Old," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 11,

tion by Mormon residents; both letters were published on October 19. Lamont's letter, dated October 15, described a two-week period of harassment and death threats that led up to the attack because he refused to be re-baptized and because he allowed his daughter to attend the local Presbyterian school. Lamont stated that, late on the evening of September 24, as he was opening a gate to pasture two mules, he received a blow on the head from behind "that knocked me senseless." Lamont affirmed that he had no knowledge of how he received the injury but that the names of several men circulated in the village rumor mill as possible perpetrators. Friends advised him not to attempt any civil action but to take any grievance he might have to local Church authorities. They also suggested that the blow he experienced likely came from a kick by one of his animals.<sup>58</sup>

To Lamont's letter Campbell appended a description of acts of aggression inflicted on him and his family due to his role in publicizing the Lamont incident. Campbell stated he and his family (baby Agnes was a year old) daily feared for their lives. After the Lamont story appeared in the newspapers, Campbell reported that one evening a volley of rocks was thrown against his home and, later the same evening, a bullet from a .22 caliber rifle penetrated a window. Fortunately, no one was injured. Campbell said he feared he might suffer an attack similar to Lamont's if he continued to publicize the event.<sup>59</sup>

Mormons were swift to challenge Campbell's assertions. The *Salt Lake Herald* accused Campbell of "trying to work up a cheap case of martyrdom for himself and to bring in the mule disaster to give color to his own complaints." Even if Campbell had correctly reported these events—and Penrose expressed skepticism on that head—he argued that they did not constitute grounds for denying statehood to Utah's 250,000 inhabitants.<sup>60</sup>

The *Deseret Evening News*, which had been under the editorship

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1893, 4. See also N. E. Clemenson, "The Richfield Case," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 19, 1893, 3.

<sup>58</sup>"Recent Mormon Outrages," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 19, 1893, 3.

<sup>59</sup>*Ibid.* See also "Mormon Outrages," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 21, 1893, 8; "The Record," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 24, 1893, 4.

<sup>60</sup>Charles W. Penrose, "The Tribune's 'Terrible Tale,'" *Salt Lake Herald*, October 24, 1893, 4. Penrose served as editor of the *Herald* from 1892 to

of George Q. Cannon's oldest son, John Q. Cannon, since 1892, termed Campbell's allegations "viciously untrue." In an editorial subtitled "Shameful Distortions of Fact by a Presbyterian Minister and the Organ of Slander," Cannon interspersed editorial comments and interpretations with quotations from an interview with Lamont conducted by an unnamed third party. In this version of his story, Lamont denied that he had accused any Mormon residents of trying to kill him. "I know there was no man at the gate except myself when I was hurt. It was a bright moonlight night, almost as light as day, and I know there was no one there. There was no place for anyone to hide. I do not know how I was hurt." According to the interviewer, Lamont said that his letter published in the *Tribune* was not the letter that he wrote—that it had been greatly lengthened and construed to mean exactly the opposite of what he had intended. When asked if he wrote any of the letter, Lamont replied, "There is something wrong about it. I wrote part of it." "How much did you write?" the interviewer asked. "I wrote most of my letter," Lamont replied. "Did you write it yourself or Mr. Campbell for you?" Lamont answered, "Mr. Campbell only wrote part of it. He may have copied it after [sic]. It is lengthened out and construed different to what I said." Appended to the editorial were nine statements from local citizens sworn before a notary public; they knew Lamont well and confirmed the substance of statements he made in the interview conducted in Mendon.<sup>61</sup>

Both sides apparently seemed content to let the matter drop and move on to other issues. I was not able to locate additional commentary in the local press. It did, however, heighten the tension between Campbell and Mendon residents and Latter-day Saint authorities in Salt Lake City.

Although the Presbyterian Synod of Utah opposed statehood as premature, some of Campbell's ministerial colleagues questioned

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1898. See also "Another Lie Nailed," *Logan Journal*, October 28, 1893, 1.

<sup>61</sup>John Q. Cannon, "That Mendon Yarn," *Deseret Evening News*, October 23, 1893, 5. Based on my knowledge of Lamont's educational level and Campbell's writing style, I have no doubt that Campbell had a major hand in the composition of the letter. It was lengthy, well written, and used words that were unlikely to be in the vocabulary of an ordinary citizen. To what extent Campbell changed the essential content of Lamont's original missive, I am not able to discern. I am confident, however, that the letter was edited and expanded by Campbell to reflect his own interpretation of the events.

the wisdom of stirring up animosity between Mormons and non-Mormons at a time when relationships between the two groups were ameliorating.<sup>62</sup> Writing to a secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions in support of statehood for Utah, the Reverend I. A. Smith of Springville, Utah, said: "I believe the Mormon people on the whole, and, with the exception of only a few 'mossbacks,' who no longer have any great influence, are willing and anxious to do the right thing and will behave better after the responsibility of self government is placed upon them than before. I have faith in them and am willing to trust them with statehood. . . . They cannot understand why we keep up the fight on the old grounds when they, with few exceptions, have relinquished those things which occasioned the trouble." Smith concluded with a reference to the Mendon controversy: "I have talked with some of our brethren in the ministry recently, who feel as I do about this and who believe that there was little excuse for the Mendon troubles. It was an insignificant thing and tended by its publication to hinder rather than help our work."<sup>63</sup>

Undeterred by criticism, Campbell used the Lamont incident to arouse opposition to Utah statehood in Eastern circles. He contacted the Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions in New York City, an auxiliary arm of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, to enlist its support. Established in 1877 by the Presbyterian General Assembly in response to an overture from Utah Presbytery, the Woman's Executive Committee recruited female teachers and provided financial support for educational missions in western states and territories to Native Americans, Hispanics, and Mormons, and other minority groups under the supervision of the male Board of Home Missions. (Mary Coyner, a teacher in the Salt Lake Collegiate Institute, was the first Presbyterian woman to be certified by the new women's organization.) The committee also organized auxiliary societies in

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<sup>62</sup>In 1893 the Synod of Utah opposed statehood "until there shall be in Utah such a decided majority of those who have always been in sympathy with American institutions, as to make this beyond all doubt an American State in harmony with the rest of the Union." It appealed to all "our Christian friends in the East and to patriotic people generally to use their influence in preventing admission." Minutes of the Synod of Utah, February 22, 1893, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>63</sup>I. A. Smith, Letter to George F. McAfee, December 20, 1893, Record Group 111-4-10, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

congregations, presbyteries, and synods throughout the country. In 1897, the committee name changed to the Woman's Board of Home Missions.<sup>64</sup>

In a letter to Sarah F. Lincoln, treasurer of the executive committee, Campbell described in vivid terms Lamont's treatment at the hands of fanatical Mormons. "For the sake of the thousands of poor people here in Utah who are in the toils of this satanic system," he told Lincoln, "I wish that this affair could be published abroad throughout the Country, and the moral sense of the Nation so aroused that Congress might be compelled to heed the voice of the people and postpone statehood until the majority of the votes of Utah are no longer Mormon." Campbell proposed that the *Salt Lake Tribune* article, accompanied by a circular letter giving more details about conditions in Utah, be sent to Presbyterian ministers throughout the United States, requesting them to rally their people to sign petitions urging the U.S. president and Congress to oppose statehood for Utah. "If this could all be done within thirty days," Campbell assured Lincoln, "I think it would create such a rising tide of public sentiment as to prevent statehood for the present Congress."<sup>65</sup>

Lincoln summarized the contents of Campbell's letter for the Woman's Executive Committee at its next meeting. She prefaced her remarks by stating that Campbell had included a copy of a letter sent to him by a Mormon, "written in blood, denouncing the Christian workers in foulest language."<sup>66</sup> One paragraph of Campbell's letter, which portrays Mormonism as being possessed with a "consummate spirit of evil," offers a rationale for his consuming passion to seek its extinction:

There is one thing that the American people seem never to have understood; and perhaps the people in general never will understand.

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<sup>64</sup>George F. McAfee, "Woman's Work for Home Missions," *Assembly Herald* 4 (January 1900): 357–58. For an overview of Presbyterian women's missionary societies in the nineteenth century, see Drury, *Presbyterian Panorama*, 197–200, and Burton, *Presbyterians in Zion*, 45–48.

<sup>65</sup>William R. Campbell, Letter to Sarah F. Lincoln, November 15, 1893, Record Group 111–4–14, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>66</sup>Minutes of the Woman's Executive Committee of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, November 21, 1893. Unless otherwise noted, all of the minutes of this committee cited in this article are in Record Group 305–7–1, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

It is this, with all its vileness and degrading tendencies polygamy is not the worst feature of Mormonism by any means, though I know that the very thought of polygamy is perfectly shocking to all high minded American people. I am sure that no one who has ever lived for any length of time among the Mormons can help but feel that there is something in it worse and more degrading than polygamy would be if practiced under other circumstances. Neither is its horrible system of false doctrine its worst feature. The worst feature is that consummate spirit of evil which completely possesses every person who is in full sympathy with Mormonism. Every genuine convert to Mormonism has surrendered himself to the full control of this spirit, which is undoubtedly supernatural and satanic, which is the being whom the Mormons call god, and which is in their minds the god of polygamy, treason, perjury, and blood-atonement. There are absolutely no bounds of wickedness to which a genuine Mormon can be limited when he believes that the prosperity of the Church requires desperate measures.<sup>67</sup>

Aroused by Campbell's letter, the women voted unanimously to "communicate with other denominations urging prompt and decisive action." Before doing so, however, they sought the advice of the male secretaries of the Board of Home Missions.<sup>68</sup> The men opposed the women's proposal to launch a crusade against Utah statehood in the public press because its political overtones threatened to compromise their status as a purely missionary organization.<sup>69</sup> Rescinding their previous action, the women subsequently published a short paragraph in their monthly missionary magazine written by "one of our teachers" in Utah describing (in Campbell's words) a brutal attack on "one of the patrons of our school." The account did not mention Mendon, Lamont, or Campbell and did not call for a public campaign against statehood. Nevertheless, Campbell had impressed the Woman's Executive Committee with his knowledge of Mormonism and sensitized them to the inherent dangers of its theological heterodoxy and political aspirations.<sup>70</sup>

Despite his failure to launch a national crusade, Campbell con-

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<sup>67</sup>William R. Campbell, Letter to Sarah F. Lincoln, November 15, 1892, Record Group 111-4-14, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>68</sup>Woman's Executive Committee, Minutes, November 21, 1893.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., December 5, 1893.

<sup>70</sup>"Mormon," *Home Mission Monthly* 8 (January 1894): 64-65.



tinued to seek opportunities to counter the momentum in Congress for Utah statehood. In May 1895, he and Agnes made a trip east to warn audiences of the negative impact that statehood would have on Protestant missionary operations in Utah. Speaking at a meeting of Presbyterian women in Pittsburgh, Agnes Campbell charged that statehood would “work disaster to our cause in various ways,” diminish the effectiveness of Presbyterian mission schools, and give Mormons power over all the public schools and universities. “Already the two state schools have fallen into the hands of the Mormons,” and “those who are out of harmony with the Mormon church and its practices” can no longer hope to receive justice. She asserted that “polygamy is more boldly and more boastfully practiced in small settlements than ever” and that misinformation emanating from pro-statehood Mormon sources was undercutting moral support for Presbyterian missionary efforts.<sup>71</sup>

From Pittsburgh the couple traveled to New York where they visited the Home Mission Boards in order to promote Presbyterian schools and churches in Utah.<sup>72</sup> They also used opportunities to speak in local churches and missionary societies as time permitted. Their experience was not encouraging. Campbell wrote a report to the Woman’s Executive Committee after returning to Utah, which its minutes summarize: “During his visit he found a lamentable ignorance among the churches regarding the Mormon question.” As a result, Campbell recommended that the women underwrite the expenses of sending a Utah Presbyterian minister (N. E. Clemenson, Logan) who had converted from Mormonism on a three-month speaking tour in the East “for the purpose of enlightening the people.”<sup>73</sup> The board deferred action in order to consult with the male Superintendent of Missions in Utah and ultimately decided to use Campbell.<sup>74</sup>

The Campbells’ trip east did not escape the watchful eyes of

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<sup>71</sup>Agnes Campbell, quoted in “Anti-Statehood Weapons,” *Logan Journal*, May 25, 1895, 3.

<sup>72</sup>Woman’s Executive Committee, Minutes, May 17, 1895. Agnes Campbell briefly addressed the Woman’s Executive Committee “concerning their work” in Mendon.

<sup>73</sup>*Ibid.*, September 24, 1895.

<sup>74</sup>*Ibid.*, October 19, 1897.

Mormons who by now had placed the couple high on their list of relentless adversaries. At a sacrament meeting in 1895, Mendon Bishop Henry Hughes addressed the congregation and “spoke of many evil reports which had been circulated against the Latter Day Saints by the Rev. Wm. R. Campbell and others and they have known at the same time that the reports were false.”<sup>75</sup> C. R. W. Sloan, editorializing in the *Logan Journal*, reminded his readers that Campbell’s veracity had been called into question on numerous occasions and that Mrs. Campbell was now delivering similar speeches. He concluded: “We mention this matter to show the kind of weapons that are being used by the enemies of statehood. Further comment is needless.”<sup>76</sup> The next month, Sloan described different reasons why some people opposed statehood such as fear of higher taxes and Mormon political domination. “But the real agitators of this new crusade . . .,” he averred, “are people like Mr. and Mrs. Campbell of Mendon who never lose an opportunity of misrepresenting and maligning the people among whom they came some years ago as Christian emissaries. If intolerant, un-brotherly, spiteful conduct towards people he is called to labor among be proper, Rev. Campbell has been a very successful missionary. . . . He ought to give his imagination a rest.”<sup>77</sup>

Efforts by Campbell and other Protestant clergymen to deny or delay statehood proved futile. On January 4, 1896, Utah was admit-

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<sup>75</sup>Mendon Ward, Sacrament Meeting Minutes, December 11, 1895.

<sup>76</sup>C. R. W. Sloan, “Anti-Statehood Weapons” (editorial), *Logan Journal*, May 25, 1895, 3.

<sup>77</sup>“The Campbells Again,” *Tri-Weekly [Logan] Journal*, June 11, 1895, 4. Isaac Sorensen, a longtime Mormon resident of Mendon, expressed his opinion about Campbell: “The Presbyterians in Mendon that is Their Minister a Mr. Camble [Campbell] was a very live man in his profession, like the Pharisees [sic] of old he spared no means in working against the church [Mormon] and its members not hesitating to spread and manufacture most atrocious Lies, and falsehoods against the people of his own town where he had lived for years and never had been molested by anyone, but not satisfied with spreading falsehoods in our town, he took a trip to the Eastern states Lecturing against the Mormon Church, and no Lie however black was to [sic] great for him to swear to as being true.” Doran J. Baker, Charles S. Peterson, and Gene A. Ware, eds., *Isaac Sorensen’s History of Mendon: A Pioneer Chronicle of a Mormon Settlement* (Logan: Cache County Historical Preservation Commission and Utah State Historical Society, 1988), 146–47.

ted as the forty-fifth state. Discouraged but determined to continue their struggle against what they deemed “the Mormon menace,” members of the Synod of Utah regrouped to launch new ventures designed to attract national attention. Facing declining financial support and wavering public interest in their educational missionary activities, they founded Sheldon Jackson College (later Westminster College) in Salt Lake City and selected General John Eaton, former U.S. Commissioner of Education, as its first president. Using his Washington connections, Eaton wielded anti-Mormonism as the college’s unique institutional mission. What distinguished it from other Presbyterian colleges, he proclaimed, was “the cause of Christianity against Mormonism at the very headquarters of this delusion.” Eaton initiated a national fund-raising campaign in 1896 with a series of anti-Mormon articles in the interdenominational *Christian Herald* magazine, citing continued new plural marriages and continued cohabitation as evidence of Mormon efforts to curtail traditional American political freedoms. Based in the nation’s capital, Eaton contacted potential benefactors and sought the cooperation of denominational and secular newspapers in enlisting support for the fledgling college.<sup>78</sup>

Another initiative by Utah Presbytery was publishing anti-Mormon literature in Salt Lake City designed to reach eastern audiences and alert them to the dangers of Mormonism. In April 1896, the presbytery issued a pamphlet, *Ten Reasons Why We Cannot Fellowship with the Mormons*. Although Mormon authorities contended otherwise, Presbyterians insisted that new marriages continued to be secretly performed and that cohabitation with wives married before 1890 was practiced even among prominent Mormon officials. Cognizant of the prevailing national sentiment against polygamy, they called for a vigorous campaign to influence Congress to pass an

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<sup>78</sup>Trustees of Sheldon Jackson College, Minutes, January 20, 1896, Westminster College Archives; John Eaton, “Presbyterian Missions among Mormons,” *Assembly Herald* 1 (February 1899): 69–72; Synod of Utah, Minutes, October 8, 1896, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives. In addition to combating Mormons, the synod stated that opposition to Presbyterian missionary ventures emanated from “all the resources of the Devil and depravity, such as worldliness in the church, saloons, Sabbath breaking, Seventh Day Adventism, and Christian Science.”

antipolygamy amendment to the Constitution.<sup>79</sup>

In April 1897 Utah Presbytery commissioned the establishment of a monthly newspaper. Campbell's writing skills and penchant for polemical discourse made him the logical choice for editor. The presbytery granted him permission to leave his post in Mendon and relocate in Salt Lake City in order to devote full time to managing the new enterprise.<sup>80</sup> He titled the newspaper *The Kinsman*, derived from a Hebrew verb meaning "to redeem, to set free, in honor of Christ, the only savior and redeemer of mankind."<sup>81</sup> In the first issue, Campbell articulated an editorial policy that promised to be confrontational and controversial. "Christlikeness consists in being right, in being loving. But many people mistake what loving is. Love never tolerates lies. The kindest thing is to tell the truth. When lies have calloused the skin until nothing else will answer, sarcasm is necessary, denunciation a duty."<sup>82</sup>

When William Paden came to Salt Lake City on May 24, 1897, to assume the pastorate of First Presbyterian Church, the celebration of Utah's fiftieth anniversary was in full swing. Along with Church members and local clergymen, he viewed the celebration from a window in the McCormick's Bank Building. Looking back on the event, Paden wrote, "The friendliness in dealing with the celebration was criticized by Rev. W. R. Cambell [sic] and other old timers."<sup>83</sup> Apparently Campbell was unrelenting in his criticism of Mormons.

In November 1897, Campbell went east to raise money for *The Kinsman* and to present conditions in Utah to audiences as opportunities arose. Never one to speak impromptu, Campbell came armed

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<sup>79</sup>Utah Presbytery, Minutes, April 4, 1896. B. H. Roberts responded to the *Ten Reasons* in light of an attempt by Protestant clergy to prevent the YMCA of Utah from inviting him to speak to the group. "Christian Fellowship," *Logan Journal*, May 26, 28, and 30, 1896, 1. (His address was published in three installments.)

<sup>80</sup>Utah Presbytery, Minutes, April 8, 1897.

<sup>81</sup>"Why Is It Called the Kinsman?," *The Kinsman*, June 1897, 2. Copies of this newspaper are housed in Westminster College Archives.

<sup>82</sup>W. R. Campbell, "Editorial," *The Kinsman*, January 29, 1898, 1.

<sup>83</sup>William Paden, "Some Reflections on My Ministry in Utah" (unpublished typescript), Presbyterian Historical Society Archives, Record Group 195-1-5.

with a forty-page typed manuscript that contained a trenchant exposition and critique of Mormon theology and political activities and a stirring call for concerted efforts to suppress polygamy. In New York, Campbell maintained a busy schedule cultivating prospective donors, speaking to Presbyterian congregations, missionary societies, and judicatories. He also visited metropolitan newspaper editors urging them to publish excerpts from *The Kinsman* and other anti-Mormon materials and offering to do interviews with reporters based on his experiences in Utah.<sup>84</sup>

Early in January 1898, he delivered his prepared address to the Woman's Board of Home Missions in New York City. They listened with rapt attention to his analysis of Mormon theology ("a combination of the three great world-philosophies: Materialism, Polytheism, and Pantheism"), Mormon political aspirations ("the only rightful government on the face of the earth, to which all other governments must give way, as all other governments are mere usurpations and have no right to exist"), and Mormon methods of evangelism ("wholesale deception; no true American, even if he were not a Christian, could ever be led into Mormonism, except by deception"). In sum, "Mormonism is anti-Christian, immoral, and blasphemous, so that Mormonism and our Christian civilization cannot dwell together; the success of Mormonism means the downfall of Christianity and our Christian civilization."<sup>85</sup>

He concluded his remarks with a series of exhortations including this statement:

We must Christianize the Mormons or they will Mormonize us. The time will come, if we do our duty, when Mormonism will be properly understood. Then it will be possible for us to outlaw it and exterminate it on the ground that it is a school of immorality and treason; but so long as Mormonism is looked upon by the American people as a reli-

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<sup>84</sup>William R. Campbell, "The Editor to Mr. Crinkley," *The Kinsman*, May 1900, 201-2.

<sup>85</sup>William R. Campbell, "Mormonism Up to Date," typescript, n.d., 9, 14, 26, 30, Westminster College Archives. From internal references, the document appears to have been written in the fall of 1897. See also Woman's Board of Home Missions (formerly Woman's Executive Committee), Minutes, January 18, 1898. Quotations from this source, unless otherwise noted, are in Record Group 305-7-2, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

gion, even though a false religion, we cannot successfully legislate against it, because that would have the appearance of interfering with religious liberty which is guaranteed in the Constitution; but there is much that can be done now, and which must be done without delay, or Mormonism will have done irreparable injury to our country before the great masses of the people are aware of it.<sup>86</sup>

Campbell's passionate speech made a great impression on the women who were present at the meeting. One attendee wrote to a friend, "Yesterday, Rev. W. R. Campbell, former missionary at Mendon, spoke at our meeting of the horrors of Mormonism. I wish you could have heard him. He brought to light many points new to us, which were very telling."<sup>87</sup> His address had similar impact in other settings. A reporter for the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, who heard Campbell speak to the Women's Home and Foreign Missionary Society of Brooklyn, said that the Utah pastor made "some astonishing remarks" about the rapid growth of Mormonism throughout the country. "Mr. Campbell predicted that if a stubborn resistance and general uprising was not made against them in the near future, they would rule a majority of the states of the Union and would have a voice in the affairs of the nation."<sup>88</sup> Following Campbell's speech to the Baltimore Presbyterian Society, the women secured the cooperation of several local ministerial associations to organize meetings for the purpose of "presenting the truth concerning Mormonism and its fatal inroads on our people."<sup>89</sup>

During his travels, Campbell closely monitored the evangelistic techniques of Mormon missionaries who were seeking converts to their new religious movement. Campbell reported that he had personally questioned more than a hundred Mormon elders regarding their belief in polygamy. According to Campbell, except for a

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<sup>86</sup>Campbell, "Mormonism Up to Date," 31.

<sup>87</sup>Sarah F. Lincoln, Letter to Miss I. M. Taggart, January 6, 1898, Record Group 305-19-5, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>88</sup>"Mormons on the Increase," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 30, 1898, 10. For a Mormon response to Campbell's talk, see "Mormon Conquest," *Logan Journal*, February 8, 1898, 1. The writer referred to Campbell's talk as "selections from his stock of Fables."

<sup>89</sup>"Missionary Notes," *Home Mission Monthly* 12 (April 1898): 122. "Presbyterial" refers to an auxiliary woman's organization.



few timid respondents, “they freely and frankly defended the practice of polygamy whenever occasion offered and freely admitted that they expected to see the day, in the not far distant future, when the Mormon church would be strong enough to have sufficient political influence to make it safe for them to openly advocate and practice polygamy anywhere that they might choose.”<sup>90</sup> Campbell incorporated his interviews with the Mormon elders into a pamphlet published the following year in which he warned readers of their deceptive practices.<sup>91</sup>

Campbell seized an opportunity to garner publicity when St. Clair McKelway, prominent civic leader and editor-in-chief of the independent Democratic *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, wrote an editorial in May 1898 in which he dismissed the alleged dangers of Mormon expansionism and argued that, as a church, Mormonism “has a perfect right to live. There is in its creed no unsound doctrine, either as regards Christian faith or morality.” The growth of the Mormon Church, he argued, was no more a threat to the nation than an increase in Catholicism or Presbyterianism. Extolling the admirable qualities of Mormons as pioneers and settlers, McKelway termed them “a respectable people” who should be accepted “with less grudging and misrepresentation.”<sup>92</sup>

Campbell responded a month later by publishing a caustic pamphlet dismissing McKelway’s views as “the misguided and uninformed musings of a pro-Mormon zealot.” He methodically challenged every positive assertion made in the editorial, backing his arguments with citations from Mormon publications and his personal experiences in Utah. Campbell asserted, “If ‘The Eagle’ had made a special effort to get as far away from the truth as possible, it could not possibly have gone farther astray than it has done in the editorial considered.” Concluding with warnings regarding Mormon deception, Campbell quot-

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<sup>90</sup>Campbell, “The Editor to Mr. Crinkley,” *The Kinsman*, May 1900, 201–2.

<sup>91</sup>William R. Campbell, *Methods of Mormon Missionaries*, n.d. [ca. 1900], Record Group 305–31–4, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>92</sup>“Growth of the Mormon Church,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 1, 1898, 8. McKelway had previously written a similar editorial, “Don’t Fear the Mormons,” August 12, 1897, 6: “If by their fruits we may know them, the Mormons deserve our confidence and praise. Church authority has given way in the territory and polygamy is dead.”

ed the words of Jesus: "False prophets shall rise, and shall show signs and wonders to seduce, if it were possible, even the elect."<sup>93</sup>

Although McKelway did not directly reply to this scathing critique, he dispatched a reporter to conduct a non-confrontational interview with Campbell. The reporter asked a series of questions that allowed Campbell to describe what he deemed the dishonest statements, deceptive practices, and degraded morals of Mormon missionaries; the reporter never challenged any of Campbell's assertions.<sup>94</sup> Five months later, reacting to pressures from his readership, McKelway finally responded to Campbell's assertions regarding the prevalence of Mormon polygamy. He asserted that, if Mormons were practicing polygamy covertly, "they should be punished with the full power of the courts. . . . No admiration of the industry, thrift, and skill of the Mormons can be permitted to obscure or to impair the insistence of the nation on Utah's absolute and actual abandonment of polygamy as the condition of Utah's admission or retention in the sisterhood of states."<sup>95</sup> While not acknowledging that Campbell had proven his case, McKelway subsequently covered developments in the antipolygamy crusade without negative editorial comment. If Campbell had not gained a friend, he had managed, temporarily at least, to mute a powerful critic.<sup>96</sup>

Widely circulated, Campbell's *Response to the Brooklyn Daily Eagle* heightened his visibility as an articulate and well-informed critic of Mormonism and generated invitations to speak at various church venues in New York and surrounding states.<sup>97</sup> At a meeting of Brooklyn Presbytery in October 1898, Dr. Lewis R. Foote reported that

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<sup>93</sup>William R. Campbell, Pamphlet, "Mormonism as 'The Brooklyn Daily Eagle' Sees It," June 4, 1898, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>94</sup>"To Check Mormon Inroads," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, June 13, 1898, 13; rpt. under the same title in *The Kinsman*, July 16, 1898, 2-6.

<sup>95</sup>St. Clair McKelway, "Utah and the Union" (editorial), *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, November 2, 1898, 4.

<sup>96</sup>McKelway eventually supported the exclusion of Roberts prior to his seating on the basis of his being a polygamist, but he did not otherwise consider Mormonism to be a national threat. See St. Clair McKelway, "Roberts Rightly Excluded" (editorial), *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, January 26, 1900, 8.

<sup>97</sup>The Woman's Board voted to print and distribute copies of Campbell's response to the *Brooklyn Eagle* and to send a condensed version to

McKelway's editorial had "stirred us all up by its statements" but that Campbell had clarified the situation by providing detailed information that exposed its shallowness and inaccuracy. Foote invited Campbell, who attended the meeting, to address members of the presbytery. According to newspaper accounts, Campbell offered convincing evidence that new plural marriages and ongoing cohabitation still existed in Utah and "aroused considerable discussion as to the spread of Mormonism."<sup>98</sup> Motivated by Campbell's speech, the presbytery enlisted the cooperation of kindred denominational organizations such as the Long Island Baptist Association, the Methodist conferences, and the Congregational associations to take stands denouncing Mormonism.<sup>99</sup>

As usual, Campbell's activities triggered negative responses from Mormons. One of the most articulate came from Harvard student Levi Edgar Young, a great-grandson of Brigham Young. He accused Campbell of "gross misrepresentation of the facts" regarding Mormon attitudes toward polygamy and loyalty to the government. "I know that Mr. Campbell's charges are utterly false, and are due to his prejudice and ignorance in spite of the statement that he has made a careful study of the Mormon question and is thoroughly familiar with the Mormons themselves." Regarding Campbell's claims about the continued practice of polygamy, Young charged that Campbell "shows his ignorance of sociological laws when he assumes that the attitude of a community toward polygamy, any more than in the case of slavery, can be instantly changed by edict." Acknowledging that Mormons consider religion to be the supreme power in their lives, Young contended that Campbell misconstrued such language to imply that Mormons were disloyal to the established government.<sup>100</sup>

While Campbell served in New York as a point man for the antipolygamy campaign, his ministerial colleagues in Utah intensi-

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newspapers for publication. Woman's Board of Home Missions, Minutes, June 7, 1898.

<sup>98</sup>"Presbytery's Report," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, October 3, 1898, 4. See also "Mormons and Missions," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, February 7, 1899, 7.

<sup>99</sup>"Against the Mormons," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, October 12, 1898, 16. He delivered the same speech to the Bedford Avenue Baptist Church. See "Church Notes," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, October 22, 1898, 3.

<sup>100</sup>Levi Edgar Young, "In Defense of Mormonism," *Deseret Evening News*, November 12, 1898, 4. Young's comments originally appeared in the

fied their attack on Mormonism. In August 1898, Utah Presbytery issued a pamphlet entitled "The Present Situation in Utah," in which it listed seven charges against the Mormon Church including political activism, polygamous practices, and deceptive evangelistic techniques.<sup>101</sup> Two months later, the Synod of Utah charged that Mormon officials continued to endorse plural marriage and reiterated its call for an antipolygamy amendment to the Constitution that defined marriage as "monogamic and forbidding polygamy under whatever guise it may exist—as polyandry, polygamy, unlawful cohabitation and celestial or plural marriage."<sup>102</sup> Both documents were reproduced in the secular press and in *The Kinsman* in order to reach wider audiences.<sup>103</sup>

Despite their combined efforts, Campbell and his cohorts failed to capture the attention of a nation that had recently granted Utah statehood and was presently absorbed by the progress of the Spanish-American War, a conflict in which Mormons for the first time served in large numbers in the U.S. military. Many Americans viewed Mormon patriotism as a further indication of improving relationships with the wider culture.<sup>104</sup> Campbell acknowledged that his efforts to enlist the aid of newspaper editors had been unproductive. "I have tried to get the secular press of the east to expose this ag-

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*Boston Herald* on October 23, 1898, and were reproduced in the *News* by request."

<sup>101</sup>"The Present Situation in Utah," in Minutes of Utah Presbytery, August 28, 1898, and *The Kinsman*, September 25, 1898, 4–5. See also "Mormon Control in Utah," *The Sun* (New York), September 18, 1898, 4. For a Mormon response, see "Reply to the Presbyterians," *Deseret Evening News*, September 3, 1898, 4.

<sup>102</sup>Minutes of the Synod of Utah, October 17, 1898, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives. See also "It Must Be Settled," *The Kinsman*, January 1899, 95.

<sup>103</sup>See "News on the Present Situation," *The Kinsman*, September 3, 1898, 4–5; "Polygamy Practiced," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 18, 1898, 8; and "Mormon Control of Utah," *The Sun* (New York), September 18, 1898, 4. For an analysis of the complexity of the issues of polygamy and cohabitation, see Kenneth L. Cannon II, "Beyond the Manifesto: Polygamous Cohabitation among LDS General Authorities after 1890," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 46 (Winter 1978): 24–36.

<sup>104</sup>D. Michael Quinn, "The Mormon Church and the Spanish Ameri-

gressiveness on the part of the Mormon church; but so far I have been unsuccessful," he admitted in "Mormonism Up to Date." "The editors of the papers with whom I have talked have generally admitted that they were aware of the facts which I presented to them, but the partisan papers all replied substantially in the same language: 'It is not our policy to antagonize those people.' This of course means: 'We want the Mormons to vote for our party in the next election.'" <sup>105</sup> In the summer of 1898, President John Eaton of Sheldon Jackson College expressed similar frustration at the lack of public interest in opposing Mormonism among eastern residents. "There was not only indifference," he lamented, "but a strong disinclination to consider the facts both on the parts of the press and the pulpit. Americans seemed ashamed to take up anew the struggle with Mormonism." <sup>106</sup>

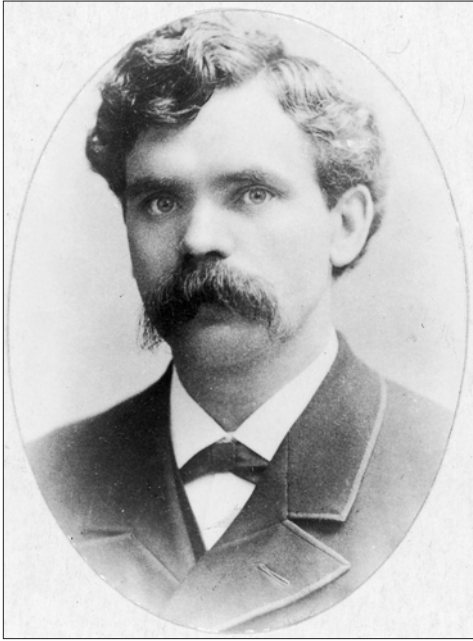
Their cause received a much-needed stimulus, however, in November 1898 when Democratic candidate B. H. Roberts was elected to serve Utah as a member of the House of Representatives in Washington. A devout Mormon and the husband of three wives, Roberts was one of the seven presidents of the First Council of the Seventy, the third highest governing body in the LDS Church. Following passage of the Edmunds-Tucker act in 1887, he was convicted of unlawful cohabitation and sentenced to four months in prison. Roberts and other polygamist Mormon leaders understood the Manifesto of 1890 to apply only to future marriages and continued to be responsible for their families. Their relationships with plural wives were not solely platonic as evidenced by children born subsequent to the Manifesto. Roberts's

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can War: An End to Selective Pacifism," *Pacific Historical Review* 43 (August 1974): 342-66.

<sup>105</sup>Campbell, "Mormonism Up to Date," 23-24. Campbell did get support from Hamilton Holt, editor of *The Independent*, a monthly magazine published in New York. In March 1898, Holt published a series of articles on contemporary Mormonism dealing with the renewal of polygamy in Utah. Authors, in addition to Campbell who wrote on "The Method of Mormon Missionaries," were T. C. Iliff, Robert G. McNiece, and Eugene Young, and others. See "The Mormon Question. Have Polygamous Relations Been Resumed?," *Independent*, March 3, 1898, 1-12.

<sup>106</sup>John Eaton, Letter to E. C. Ray, August 6, 1898, Record Group 32-32-6, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.



*Brigham H. Roberts, Used by permission, Utah State Historical Society. All rights reserved.*

second wife, Celia, for example, had recently given birth to twins.<sup>107</sup> Moreover, despite claims by Mormon authorities that polygamous marriages had ceased, they continued to be consummated surreptitiously in Utah and outside the United States in Mexico and Canada.<sup>108</sup>

In 1895, Roberts had been selected as the Democratic candidate for Utah's territorial delegate to the House of Representatives. Al-

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<sup>107</sup>Bitton, "The B. H. Roberts Case of 1898-1900," 27-47, and Madsen, *Defender of the Faith*, 247-50. Roberts's opponents contended that one of the marriages took place after the Manifesto, an assertion that Roberts denied. Brigham H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Century I*, 6 vols. (1930; rpt., Provo, Utah, Brigham University Press, 1965), 6:362-74.

<sup>108</sup>Lorenzo Snow, "Have Ceased," *Deseret Evening News*, December 29, 1898, 1. See also William R. Campbell, "President Snow to the Rescue," *The Kinsman*, January 1899, 71-74; Robert G. McNiece, "Answer of the Ministers," *The Kinsman*, February 1899, 97-102. For ongoing post-Manifesto marriages, see B. Carmon Hardy, *Solemn Covenant: The Mormon Polygamous Passage* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992) and D. Michael Quinn,



though unsuccessful, he was encouraged that his marital affairs did not become a campaign issue. During the summer of 1898, when Roberts announced his intention to seek a seat in Congress, both friends and foes expressed concerns that his polygamous status might be viewed with alarm by the wider American public. One of his close friends, Edwin H. McDaniel, business manager of the *Salt Lake Herald*, called Roberts into his private office and argued that, for the sake of the Democratic Party and for Utah, it was unwise for Roberts to seek office especially at a time when denominational clergymen in Utah were mounting renewed opposition to polygamy. Roberts thought McDaniel was unnecessarily alarmed and assured him that, even if questions did arise about his domestic life, they would not spread outside the state. Furthermore, if they did, he told McDaniel that, "the fountainhead of polygamy having been shut off, he believed the people were willing to let the stream run on until it was entirely dry."<sup>109</sup>

That Roberts miscalculated became immediately apparent. Many observers, both Mormon and non-Mormon, viewed Roberts's election as a test case to see if Congress would seat such an individual. Opposition to Roberts was immediate, intense, and sustained. His election supplied anti-Mormon activists with ammunition to substantiate their claims that polygamy and Mormon influence in national government were clear and present dangers. The Ministerial Association of Salt Lake City promptly circulated "An Address to the American People" calling for a campaign to deny Roberts his seat in Congress.<sup>110</sup> The *Salt Lake Tribune* gave editorial support to the anti-Roberts crusade and explained why it resonated so positively with the American people. "The people look upon it as a blow aimed at their homes, a blow aimed at the sacred divinity of womanhood; they think of Utah as they do of Turkey."<sup>111</sup>

Serendipitously in New York at the time, Campbell moved quickly to enlist the support of the Woman's Board of Home Mis-

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"LDS Church Authority and New Plural Marriage, 1890–1904," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 18, no. 1 (Spring 1985): 1–105.

<sup>109</sup>Excerpts of McDaniel's testimony before Congress from "Roberts's Last Hope Gone," *New York Journal*, December 20, 1899, 1.

<sup>110</sup>"Protest of Clergymen against B. H. Roberts," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 7, 1898, 1, 3.

<sup>111</sup>"The Rising Storm," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 29, 1898, 4. See also "Ministers Talk Plain," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 7, 1898, 8.



Cartoon, Salt Lake Tribune, December 9, 1898, 1, parodies the chants employed in the Grover Cleveland 1884 presidential campaign, "Ma, Ma, where's my Pa?" by Cleveland opponents, to which Cleveland supporters replied, "Gone to the White House, Ha! Ha! Ha!" They were mocking Cleveland's fathering of an illegitimate child.

sions, knowing that access to its regional missionary societies, political contacts, and financial resources would be indispensable in accomplishing his goals. Having previously established his reputation as an authority on Mormonism, he had no difficulty in spurring the women into action. Only a week after Roberts's election, Campbell recommended that the Woman's Board act immediately to work through Presbyterian and other denominational missionary societies to contact Congressional representatives and to convey through them petitions to deny Roberts a seat in Congress. He proposed that the petitions be accompanied by a statement of "proofs legal and moral" that he had written to explain why Roberts should not be seated. A motion to that effect passed unanimously.<sup>112</sup>

The network of contacts that Campbell generated through the Woman's Board of Home Missions proved to be the single most effective instrument in his arsenal of weapons directed against Roberts. With what Presbyterian women termed a "well nigh perfect system of organization" and a membership of approximately 130,000, they were able to communicate through the ranks of regional and local auxiliaries, thus securing widespread unity of action. They also had working relationships with other denominational missionary societies and interdenominational reform agencies. A perusal of the correspondence between the Woman's Board and its various contacts verifies its claim of effective communication during the crusade to deny Roberts his seat.<sup>113</sup>

To initiate the anti-Roberts campaign, Campbell recommended that the women hold a public protest meeting and give special invitations to prominent women and clergy from New York and New Jersey. Accordingly, the women scheduled the event for December 20 in the assembly room of the Presbyterian Building on Fifth Avenue. Follow-

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<sup>112</sup>Woman's Board of Home Missions, Minutes, November 15, 1898. The literature department of the Woman's Board offered the following advice to its members: "We must find out at once who is the Representative-elect of the district in which we live and then 'snow him under' with letters and petitions from the voters of his own district so that he will feel that his constituents with one voice demand Mr. Roberts's expulsion." "Opponents of Polygamy," *New York Tribune*, January 21, 1899, 7.

<sup>113</sup>"An Announcement," *Home Mission Monthly* 14 (December 1899): 97-98. Incoming correspondence from 1898-1900 is located in Record Group 305, Boxes 22-23, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.



*Staff of the Woman's Executive Committee of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (ca. 1878–97). Courtesy Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.*

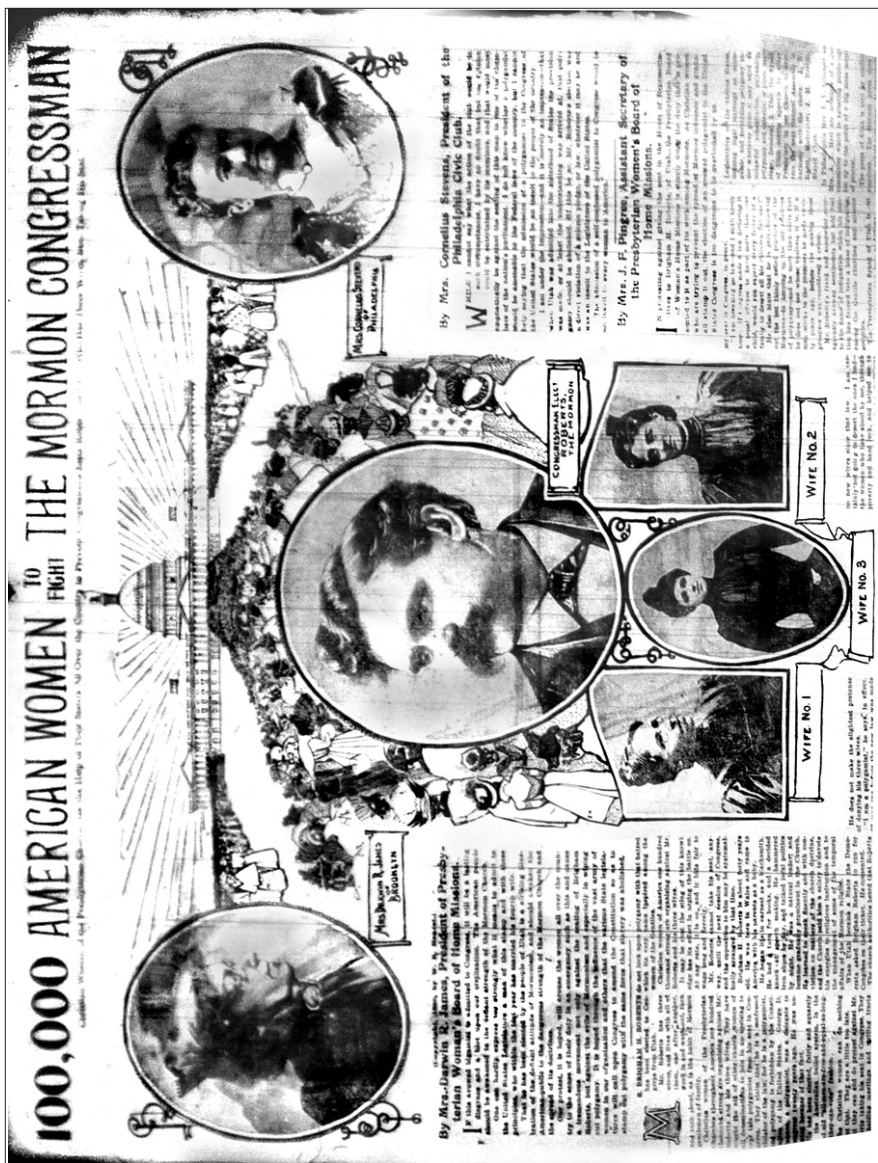
ing Campbell's advice, they invited Eugene Young, a disaffected grandson of Brigham Young, to be the featured speaker.<sup>114</sup> Campbell promoted the meeting by renewing his contacts with New York newspaper editors and urging them to send reporters to cover the women's meeting. This time he met with success.

The *New York Times* reported that "women have taken up the cudgels in opposition to Representative-Elect Brigham H. Roberts of

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<sup>114</sup>Woman's Board of Home Missions, Minutes, November 22, 1898. According to newspaper reports, Fanny Stenhouse was his maternal grandmother. "What a Mormon Apostate Says," *Ogden Examiner*, December 20, 1898, 1.





Cartoon, New York Journal, December 18, 1898, 4. Mary (Mrs. Darwin R.) James, president of the Presbyterian Woman's Board of Home Missions (top left), and Mrs. Cornelius Stevens, president of the Philadelphia Civic Club (top right). Center: Brigham H. Roberts and his three wives.

Utah, and a movement of national scope is on foot to prevent him from being sworn in on March 4 next." A *Times* reporter visited Sarah Lincoln, the Woman's Board treasurer, in her home to elicit details of the campaign strategy. "Our opposition to Mormonism is not new," she said, "but it was stimulated by the election of Mr. Roberts to Congress. It would be an outrage to public decency should Roberts be allowed to take his seat." She also informed the reporter of the upcoming public meeting, noting that many prominent women of the city would be in attendance.<sup>115</sup>

It was William Randolph Hearst, owner and editor of the *New York Journal*, however, who provided national coverage of the anti-Roberts crusade and catapulted Campbell into prominence as an authority on Utah polygamy and Mormon theology. The newspaper's eye-catching headlines and provocative cartoons coupled with sensational narratives on crime, corruption, and political campaigns had made it one of the most widely read and copied dailies in the country. With a keen eye for what sold newspapers, Hearst saw the opportunity to increase circulation by launching a moral crusade that could generate headlines over an extended period of time. Two days before the public meeting, Hearst informed readers of the impending event with a full page spread: "100,000 Women to Fight the Mormon Congressman." Photographs of Roberts and his three wives—Celia Dibble, Margaret Shipp, and Sarah Louisa Smith—was framed by a cartoon sea of women marching toward the Capitol in Washington.<sup>116</sup>

As Campbell anticipated, the December inaugural anti-Roberts campaign meeting drew a large audience and received national attention. A group of Mormon elders attended, but they did not request an opportunity to speak or ask questions. Although the meeting convened under the auspices of the Woman's Board, men rather than women were the featured speakers. President Mary James's tasks were limited to calling the meeting to order and asking the Reverend D.

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<sup>115</sup>"Opposing Mormon Roberts," *New York Times*, December 10, 1898, 7. See also "The Case of Mr. Roberts," *New York World*, December 5, 1898, rpt. under the same headline with a subtitle "How the New York World Looks at It," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 5, 1898, 8.

<sup>116</sup>"100,000 Women to Fight the Mormon Congressman," *New York Journal*, December 18, 1898, 14. An excellent survey of anti-Roberts cartoons is Gary L. Bunker and Davis Bitton, *The Mormon Graphic Image, 1834–1914* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1983).

*Mary E. (Mrs. Darwin) James, president of the Woman's Executive Committee (later, Woman's Board of Home Missions), 1885–1909. She was a major figure in the crusade against Roberts. Courtesy Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.*



Stuart Dodge to outline the purpose of the gathering. Campbell then introduced Eugene Young to the audience with stirring militaristic rhetoric:

Christian women of America, for years you have been faithfully, patiently, and prayerfully carrying on the mission work in Utah. Today you have a foretaste of your great reward which is as sure as the word of our God. In the midst of this great conflict, in which not only the honor of the nation but even the integrity of the home and the very life of our Christian civilization are at stake, there comes to your assistance a young man from Utah who knows by bitter experience, better than you can ever imagine, what this fight means and what it cost to take part in it, but who is ready to buckle on the armor and plunge into the thickest of the fight, never to retire from the field until the battle is won, the home vindicated and polygamy and tyranny are forever banished from our shores.<sup>117</sup>

Campbell concluded his remarks by describing Young as an example of how Protestant missions in Utah were effective means of

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<sup>117</sup>William R. Campbell, quoted in "Women Everywhere Join in the Fight," *New York Journal*, December 21, 1898, 4.





The “Octopus” cartoon, initially disseminated by Baptists, was widely circulated during and after the Roberts crusade. This image is from *The Kinsman*, January 1899, 89. On the same page, Campbell refers to the cartoon as “a telling representation of the Mormon hierarchy.”

leading people “out of the toils of Mormon tyranny and polygamy into the glorious liberty of Christianity.”<sup>118</sup>

In his address, which was frequently interrupted by applause, Young praised Presbyterians for having warned legislators not to grant statehood to Utah before Mormons had learned “the principles of American liberty.” Because Mormons were forgiven too soon, he said, “Congress must now face a great problem of national morality and Christian men and women of the country must unite to arouse the national conscience by a demand for a proper solution of it.” The election of Roberts, he contended, marked “the initial step toward the establishment of a hierarchy foreign to our institutions and our social laws, in the midst of our Republic.” Mimicking Campbell, Young raised the specter of Mormonism extending its political power in surrounding states and bringing Mormonism “more aggressive than ever, to the doors of your homes.”<sup>119</sup>

In the aftermath of Young’s speech, William Randolph Hearst

<sup>118</sup>“Presbyterian Women Fighting Mormonism,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, December 20, 1898, 3.

<sup>119</sup>“Women Fight Mormonism,” *New York Times*, December 21, 1898,

provided staff and finances to promote the crusade against Roberts. He launched a sustained barrage of articles, editorials, and cartoons in the *New York Journal* during the next twelve months denouncing Roberts as unworthy of congressional membership. On Christmas Day 1898, Hearst committed a full page to a series of statements from 100 prominent clergymen who opposed the seating of Roberts. At the same time, he vigorously pursued a campaign to stimulate the production of petitions opposing the seating of Roberts and endorsing the passage of an antipolygamy amendment to the Constitution.<sup>120</sup> The continued use of illustrated articles with provocative headlines such as "Robert's Election to Congress Is Only Part of a Black Plot to Perpetuate Polygamy and Mormonism in America," "Crush the Har-em; Protect the Home," "2,000 Polygamous Marriages in Two Years," "No Polygamist in Congress for These Christians, Thank You," and "Mormon Apostle [Charles W. Penrose] Reveals the Shameful Truth about Polygamy, and Shows Utah's Shameful Situation," served to keep public attention riveted on the anti-Roberts crusade.<sup>121</sup> Other New York papers such as the *Tribune* and the *Sun* also carried numerous articles on Mormonism, polygamy, and the case against Roberts.<sup>122</sup>

Although Hearst frequently took credit for inaugurating the crusade against Roberts, he acknowledged the major role that Camp-

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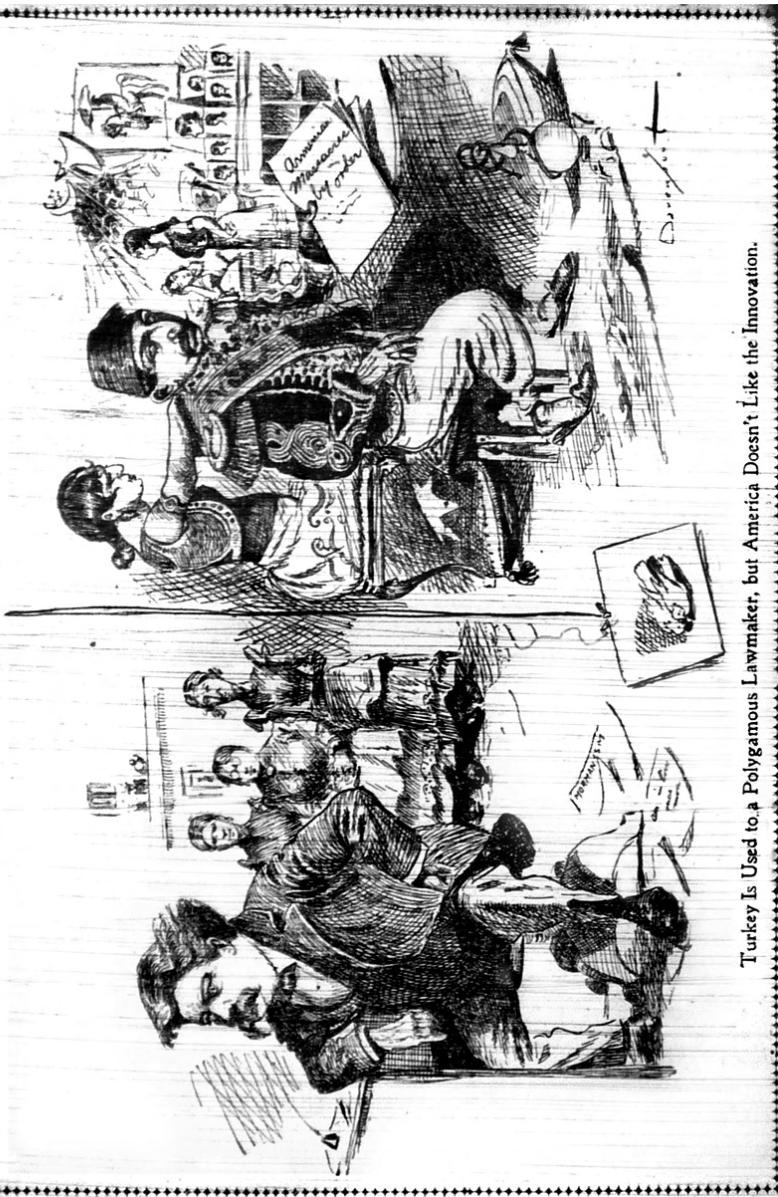
12, and "An Enthusiastic Meeting Held," *New York Observer*, December 29, 1898, 870. See also Eugene Young, "Mormonism and Civics," *The Assembly Herald* 2 (October 1899): 200–203, and "Revival of the Mormon Problem," *North American Review*, April 1899, 476–89. In an earlier article, Young was much more positive about the future of Mormonism. "Self-Government by the Mormons," *The Outlook* 53 (June 6, 1896): 1067–69.

<sup>120</sup>"100 Clergymen Protest about Brigham H. Roberts," *New York Journal*, December 25, 1898, 14.

<sup>121</sup>References for the *Journal* headlines in order cited are: January 2, 1899, 4; January 27, 1899, 7; January 10, 1899, 7; January 1, 1899, 4; January 20, 1899, 4; and January 5, 1899, 6. During the month of January 1899, for example, there were only two days when the newspaper did not have an article dealing with polygamy and the Roberts case.

<sup>122</sup>An excellent online source to access these newspapers is *Chronicling America: Historic American Newspapers*, available from the Library of Congress. Over four million pages are available. <http://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/newspapers/>.

IS CONSTANTINOPLE MOVING TO WASHINGTON?



Turkey Is Used to a Polygamous Lawmaker, but America Doesn't Like the Innovation.

Cartoon, New York Journal, December 23, 1898, p. 6. The caption at the bottom reads, "Turkey Is Used to a Polygamous Lawmaker, But America Doesn't Like the Innovation." Roberts's opponents frequently compared Mormon and Islamic polygamy in articles and speeches.



THE OPEN DOOR FOR FALSEHOOD.

Cartoon, *New York Tribune*, December 28, 1898, p. 4. Roberts is identified as "The Congressman-Elect from Utah."

bell had played in alerting New York newspaper editors to the menace of Mormonism. Early in January 1899 the *Journal* featured an article entitled "Proof of Polygamy" with a sub-title, "Rev. Dr. [sic] William R. Campbell of Utah, Proves the Falsity of the Mormon Claim." Hearst informed readers that Campbell has "mingled consistently with the people of authority in and out of the church [in Utah] and is ably qualified to speak on existing conditions in the State."<sup>123</sup> Hearst subsequently described Campbell as "an untiring fighter" and asserted that

<sup>123</sup>"Proof of Polygamy," *New York Journal* January 3, 1899, 4.

"there is no man better informed than the Rev. Mr. Campbell in regard to the true inwardness of the Mormon situation." In the same article, Campbell reciprocated Hearst's praise by congratulating him "on the great service you are rendering the country by making this vigorous and winning fight" and promised to aid the *Journal* in every possible way to make the movement against Roberts a success.<sup>124</sup>

Behind the scenes, Campbell sought additional help to strengthen the movement against Roberts. The Presbyterian women authorized Campbell to confer with Josiah Strong to seek his cooperation in the Mormon campaign. Strong, a leading advocate of religious and social reform during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, possessed national stature as an author and lecturer. He had recently resigned his post as secretary of the American Evangelical Alliance in order to form the League of Social Service, an educational agency located in New York City designed to distribute literature on contemporary social issues. Strong agreed to join the crusade and use his influence to oppose Roberts by supplying lecturers and distributing pamphlets.<sup>125</sup>

Rather than respond in kind, Roberts remained aloof from Campbell's and Hurst's journalistic onslaught as did local Democratic leaders in Salt Lake City.<sup>126</sup> In January 1899, Winifred Black, a Hearst reporter doing investigative research in Utah, interviewed

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<sup>124</sup>"Mighty Roberts Protest from 10,000 Pulpits," *New York Journal*, October 12, 1899, 5. This article gives the impression that Campbell came east after the *Journal* had begun its crusade; but in fact, Campbell had been in town for almost a year before Roberts's election.

<sup>125</sup>Woman's Board of Home Missions, Minutes, December 13 and 27, 1898. See also Dorothea R. Muller, "The Social Philosophy of Josiah Strong: Social Christianity and American Progressivism," *Church History* 28 (Spring 1959): 183–201.

<sup>126</sup>A reporter for the *Salt Lake Herald* covered a meeting of local Democratic leaders who discussed the Roberts case, among other items. While a range of opinions was expressed, they decided not to produce petitions countering those of the Salt Lake Ministerial Association for three reasons: (1) It would be best for him not to take his case to the people until he was seated; (2) Some felt that he would be seated and not expelled even if tried; and (3) He had been duly elected. A few speakers, however, thought that Roberts was guilty of bad faith and should not be defended. "Democratic Leaders Discuss Roberts Case," *Salt Lake Herald*, November 19, 1899, 1.



Roberts. He commented: "The people opposing me have nothing against me as a man; they do not know me. It is my religion they hate. Therefore, I bear them neither malice nor anger. I can stand persecution for the truth's sake. The Christian ministers are trying to make a boggy man of me; but they will find that the people of their congregations are not so easily frightened now as they were some years ago when Mr. [George Q.] Cannon was unseated on account of his polygamist marriage."<sup>127</sup> In response to a question from Black asking if he denied that he was living in polygamy, Roberts was noncommittal:

I neither admit nor deny. I do not discuss it. I cannot see what the people of the United States have to do with my domestic affairs. I have never been interviewed since the trouble began. Interviews have been sent out all over the country, but they have been false from the beginning of the first letter of the first sentence to the period at the end of the whole affair. I am not trying my case in the newspapers. The Congress of the United States will try it in due time, and I will make my defense then and there and not until then.<sup>128</sup>

In framing a strategy to oppose Roberts, procedural constitutional issues threatened to shatter the unity of the movement. Should Roberts be seated and then expelled, or should he be denied permission to take his seat? The former course of action required a two-thirds vote of House members and the latter needed only a majority

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<sup>127</sup>Winifred Black, "Mormonism's Boast," *New York Journal*, January 9, 1899, 1. Cannon was unseated as a non-voting territorial delegate after eight years of service when the Edmunds Act (1882) prohibited polygamists from holding office. Hearst commented on the Black interview in an editorial, "The Insolent Polygamist," *New York Journal*, January 10, 1899, 8, predicting: "What Roberts sneers at as a "sudden storm of religious fanaticism" is a tempest of righteous wrath that will sweep him from public life."

<sup>128</sup>Roberts, quoted in Black, "Mormonism's Boast," 2. For the same article, Black interviewed Margaret Shipp Roberts whom she described as Robert's "favorite wife." Margaret Shipp Roberts told Black that plural marriage was dying out. "The Church has decreed against it and that settles the whole affair." Regarding the opposition to her husband's seating, she predicted: "The cause of justice will triumph, and the people who have been persecuting him will bow their heads in humiliation." For other articles by Winifred Black, see "Mormons Defy Congress to Oust Roberts," *New York Journal*, January 11, 1899, 1, and "Mormon Women, Taught to Believe It Will Save Them, Urge Polygamy," *New York Journal*, January 12, 1899, 6.



vote. However, no precedent existed for preemptive Congressional rejection of a duly-elected member of the House of Representatives.<sup>129</sup> Roberts had met the three constitutional requirements of residence, citizenship, and age. The Woman's Board paid Campbell's expenses to confer with ex-Senator George F. Edmunds (R-Vermont), to discuss the best path to follow in unseating Roberts. Then practicing law in Philadelphia, Edmunds had authored an act in 1882 to suppress polygamy in Utah and co-sponsored the even harsher Edmunds-Tucker Act five years later.<sup>130</sup> He advised Campbell that preemptive expulsion might tarnish the case against Roberts and lead to charges that he had been deprived of his constitutional rights. Edmunds recommended that Roberts should not be denied his seat but be promptly expelled from Congress after the official roll was taken. Campbell accepted Edmunds's advice and informed the Woman's Board accordingly.<sup>131</sup>

As efforts to unseat Roberts gained momentum, Campbell's involvement in the campaign deepened. He was in great demand as a speaker in the New York area. Sometimes he had more than one engagement in the same evening. On January 24, for example, he spoke at the Washington Avenue Baptist Church at 8:00 P.M. and then rushed to the Throop Avenue Presbyterian Church for a 10:00 P.M. appear-

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<sup>129</sup>George Q. Cannon was elected as a delegate from Utah Territory to Congress in 1872 and served until his seat was declared vacant by passage of the Edmunds Act of 1882 which terminated numerous constitutional rights for Utah's polygamists. Roberts, however, was the first Congressman elected from a sovereign state to be denied a seat. For background, see Edward Leo Lyman, *Political Deliverance: The Mormon Quest for Statehood* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 7-40.

<sup>130</sup>Woman's Board of Home Missions, Minutes, December 13, 1898. For the interview and work in producing literature for the anti-polygamy campaign, the women authorized a minimum stipend of one hundred dollars.

<sup>131</sup>Woman's Board of Home Missions, Minutes, December 27, 1898. Campbell supported Edmunds's interpretation in a pamphlet, "Reasons Why B. H. Roberts, of Utah, Should be Expelled from the House of Representatives of the Fifty-Sixth Congress," n.d. [ca. 1899], Westminster College Archives. See also "Edmunds on Roberts Case," *Salt Lake Herald*, December 5, 1899, 4.

ance.<sup>132</sup> Neither size nor membership of the organizations mattered to Campbell. He was eager to speak in opposition to Roberts and to mobilize people to participate in his anti-Mormon crusade.

At the same time, he was supplying the *New York Journal* with ammunition for its crusade against Roberts. One article in January 1899 featured a photograph of Mormon President Lorenzo Snow with his five wives and forty-nine children allegedly taken at a family reunion the previous April. The caption proclaimed that the photograph was "living proof that Utah is still the graveyard of the Nation's morality." Hearst credited Campbell with supplying the photograph from a copy he obtained from the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions in New York.<sup>133</sup>

The *Deseret News* challenged the authenticity of the photograph, noting that no one's features, including Snow's, could be clearly discerned nor could a date be assigned to it. Moreover, according to Penrose, no Snow family gathering had taken place since his seventieth birthday fifteen years earlier. Everything about the *Journal* article was falsehood, Penrose declared, except that the photograph was furnished by the Rev. William R. Campbell. "That is the name of a notorious preacher, who figured some time ago, very little to his credit, in Mendon, Cache County, Utah. His reputation for veracity among his neighbors and associates was of the very worst. Affidavits can be furnished whenever necessary to prove that his word is worthless, and that he scruples at nothing to vilify the 'Mormons' and further his own ends."<sup>134</sup>

Deeming Campbell's presence in Washington vital "for the successful issue of this aggressive Mormon work," the Woman's Board in January 1899 employed him to function as a lobbyist for six months. Because board policies limited its use of funds to missionary activities, members agreed to solicit financial support for Campbell from private sources. Cash flow problems, however, forced the women to borrow money on a monthly basis from the board's treasury to pay his

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<sup>132</sup>"Small Protest Meeting," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, January 25, 1899, 7; "Polygamist Is Scored," *Salt Lake Tribune*, January 25, 1899, 1; "Protest against Roberts," *The Sun* (New York), January 25, 1899, 9.

<sup>133</sup>"Living Proof in a Photograph of Lorenzo Snow's Own Family," *New York Journal*, January 8, 1899, 42.

<sup>134</sup>Charles W. Penrose, "Shameful Deception," *Deseret News* (Semi-Weekly), January 24, 1899, 4.

salary. They circumvented policy issues by appointing Campbell as a board “speaker” with salary and travelling expenses, and refunding the amount expended as fast as contributions arrived.<sup>135</sup>

In Washington, Campbell maintained a low profile as he labored to influence lawmakers. He had an entree to legislators through the good offices of Darwin James, a former Republican congressman from New York (1883–91) and husband of Woman’s Board president Mary James. Campbell did, however, keep members of the Woman’s Board informed about his lobbying efforts by means of frequent letters and occasional visits. At a meeting in February 1899, he assured the women that he was making progress toward influencing congressmen to reject Roberts, stating that “the present attitude of many hitherto indifferent or antagonistic was very encouraging.” Minutes of the meeting reflect the awe in which the women held Campbell as the energizing force of their antipolygamy campaign. “As Mr. Campbell gave his report and all unconsciously revealed his quickness and power in meeting the question and arguments presented to him, the women of the Board felt as never before, how much depended upon this one man, and how manifestly the Lord was using him in this most important crisis.” At the close of his report, Campbell received a rising vote of thanks along with a motion “that we should record on the minutes our appreciation of the wisdom and efficiency with which Mr. Campbell is following up every opportunity to give information to Congressmen.”<sup>136</sup>

The Woman’s Board burnished Campbell’s image in its denominational publications. The March 1899 issue of the *Home Mission Monthly* devoted considerable space to what it termed “the Mormon Problem.” Much of the information bore the mark of Campbell’s rhetoric and emphasized the rapid expansion of Mormonism in the United States and its negative impact on American life. “The increase of the Mormon Church, a treasonable institution, hostile to the best

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<sup>135</sup>Woman’s Board of Home Missions, Minutes, January 3 and 31, March 14 and 28, and April 11, 1899.

<sup>136</sup>Woman’s Board of Home Missions, Minutes, February 7, 1899. At a subsequent meeting, following Campbell’s report, the women agreed that the work “should be prosecuted with even more vigor and force” and expressed appreciation to Campbell “for his untiring energy and earnest, consecrated effort.” Woman’s Board of Home Missions, Minutes, March 14, 1899.

interests of our country, has been so rapid of late years that if continued at the same ratio for twenty years to come will surely accomplish its avowed purpose and hold the balance of power in every State of our Union." The article identified Campbell as a central figure in the movement to unseat Roberts. "Our former missionary to Mendon, Utah, Rev. William R. Campbell, now of Salt Lake City, is providentially in Washington, D.C. for some weeks. Members of our societies who are securing personal letters to Congressmen and sending petitions to members-elect now in Washington, may confidently refer these gentlemen to Mr. Campbell as one prepared to give full information in regard to Mr. Roberts and the general Mormon question."<sup>137</sup>

When Campbell received negative publicity in the New York press, board members rose to his defense. In 1899 an article in the *New York Observer* appeared to cast Campbell in an unfavorable light and downplay the dangers of Mormonism.<sup>138</sup> The Woman's Board invited the editor, John Bancroft Devins (a Presbyterian minister), to speak to their group and subjected him to an intense interrogation. According to Emeline Pierson, corresponding secretary of the Woman's Board, Devins spoke well, "but he knew more about the Mormon question when he left the room than when he began to talk. We did not spare him, though we tried to be courteous, and we used your [Campbell's] ammunition with good effect." Pierson described how Mary James and Katharine Bennett "kept up a pretty vigorous bombardment after he had finished his address, and he evidently feels that we are generally displeased with the weak attitude that he has taken in the Observer articles."<sup>139</sup> The encounter evidently made an impact on Devins. He subsequently published articles praising Campbell, condemning Roberts, and supporting the

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<sup>137</sup>"Campaign Briefs," *Home Mission Monthly* 13 (March 1899): 97–100.

<sup>138</sup>"Mormonism as the Mormons See It," *New York Observer*, September 7, 1899, 195–96. This is the article referred to in the introduction to the essay. The women thought that Devins was remiss because he did not attempt to refute Penrose's negative evaluation of Campbell. Interestingly, Devins and Campbell had been classmates at Union Theological Seminary in New York.

<sup>139</sup>Emeline G. Pierson, Letter to William R. Campbell, September 20, 1899, Record Group 305–19–6, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.



*Katharine (Mrs. Frederick E.) Bennett was active in the anti-Roberts's crusade as a member of the Presbyterian Woman's Board of Home Missions. She later (1912–23) served as its president. Courtesy Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.*

antipolygamy amendment.<sup>140</sup>

In addition to his lobbying efforts, Campbell meticulously gathered evidence to use against Roberts and other prominent polygamists in Utah in order to secure their arrests, trials, and convictions. Campbell asked George W. Martin, pastor in Manti, Utah, to locate witnesses who would be willing to testify under oath regarding their knowledge of polygamous activities. He assured Martin that he could raise money in the East to cover the expenses of competent investigators. "I look upon this as a first-class opportunity for the patriotic people of Utah to expose such Mormon rottenness," Campbell said. He related that his conversations with congressmen supported the wisdom of arresting Roberts on the charge that he continued to live with his plural wives even if a Utah court and jury found him not guilty.

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<sup>140</sup>Emeline G. Pierson, Letter to Mrs. W. P. White, September 20, 1899, Record Group 305–19–6, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives. See *New York Observer* articles: "The Mormon Question," December 1, 1898, 703; "Present Day Views of Mormons," November 2, 1899, 556–57; and "The Mormon Peril," November 7, 1901, 589–90.

The publicity generated by the trial, Campbell predicted, would enable opponents of Roberts to “throw light on the Utah situation, which could not be brought to bear upon the House in any other way. This opinion is supported by several of the strongest members of the House with whom I have talked upon the subject.”<sup>141</sup>

Campbell’s efforts to uncover polygamous relationships included surreptitious cooperation with William Randolph Hearst. In order to secure material for the *New York Journal*, Hearst had employed a well-known anti-Mormon activist, Charles Mostyn Owen, to interview witnesses and prepare affidavits against polygamists for submission to civil authorities.<sup>142</sup> Hearst wanted to pay Campbell to serve as a confidential advisor to Owen, but Campbell feared that accepting remuneration might compromise his independent status and reflect negatively on the Woman’s Board. Emeline Pierson agreed with Campbell, expressing concern that direct involvement in prosecuting polygamists might “bring reproach upon the Woman’s Board.” While complimenting Campbell on his success in recruiting Hearst’s support, she opined, “Your position in regard to Mr. Hearst is certainly a good one. If you do not accept his money, and yet render the service he needs as confidential advisor of Mr. Owen, he can’t mix us up with the prosecution, and we shall be able to declare our skirts free even though the active agent in each campaign is the same.”<sup>143</sup>

Although Roberts was elected to Congress in November 1898, the Congress for which he was slated to serve did not convene until December 1899. During this time period, and until the twentieth amendment passed in 1933, Congress met from December until March. As a result, the Congress (55th) that was in session in March 1899 was a “lame duck” body that had been elected in November

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<sup>141</sup>William R. Campbell, Letter to G. W. Martin, February 4, 1899, Westminster College Archives. In May Campbell reported that he was making significant progress in securing information regarding polygamous marriages in Salt Lake City. Woman’s Board of Home Missions, Minutes, May 9, 1899.

<sup>142</sup>“Another Charge Filed in Utah against Roberts,” *New York Journal*, October 15, 1899, 4; “New Move in Journal’s Fight on Polygamy,” *New York Journal*, October 7, 1899, 7; and “Snow Is Accused,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 8, 1899, 1.

<sup>143</sup>Emeline Pierson, Letter to William R. Campbell, September 6, 1899, Record Group 305–19–6, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.



1896. Not until the 56th Congress convened in December 1899 could legislators address Roberts's seating. Campbell apprised the women of this situation and advised them to direct their petitions to members of the 56th Congress.<sup>144</sup>

During the summer and fall of 1899, Campbell resided in Salt Lake City where he coordinated activities timed to maintain interest in the Roberts crusade during the Congressional recess. By July, prosecutions of Mormon polygamists were underway and receiving extensive coverage in major newspapers.<sup>145</sup> Although he had evidence in hand much earlier, Owen waited until October to present an affidavit to the Davis County Attorney accusing Roberts of adultery with Celia Dibble.<sup>146</sup> His reasons for the delay appear to have been two-fold: First, by this time Roberts was in Washington, D.C., making preparations for the upcoming session of Congress. If forced to return to Utah to face a trial, he would not be able to defend himself on the floor of the House of Representatives. Second, if he stayed in the capital, the trial likely would be postponed (which was the case), eliminating the possibility that he might be tried but not convicted. In the meantime, no matter what the outcome, Roberts would be under suspicion, adding to the ammunition available to use against him.<sup>147</sup>

Campbell remained aloof from the trials, however, so as not to jeopardize his relationships with congressmen. Writing to a member

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<sup>144</sup>Iversen, *The Antipolygamy Controversy in U.S. Women's Movements*, 203–4.

<sup>145</sup>"Crusade against Polygamists," *The Sun* (New York), July 9, 1899, 4.

<sup>146</sup>"Roberts Accused of Adultery," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 15, 1899, 1. See also "Evidence of Roberts's Perjury Revealed," *Salt Lake Tribune*, November 11, 1899, 1; "Three More Accused," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 24, 1899, 8; and "Owen's Cache County Raid," *Deseret Evening News*, November 28, 1899, 1.

<sup>147</sup>Latter-day Saints were well aware of Owen's and Campbell's strategy in regard to the timing of the indictment. See Charles W. Penrose, "Consider Both Sides," *Deseret Evening News*, December 14, 1899, 4, and "Neither 'Safe' Nor 'Sane,'" *Deseret Evening News* December 5, 1899, 4. Roberts was arraigned in February 1900 and tried and convicted of "unlawful cohabitation" in June 1900, but the decision was appealed and the verdict quashed by the Utah Supreme Court. "Roberts Arraigned," *Deseret Evening News*, February 6, 1900, 1; "Court Declines to Exact a Promise," *Deseret Evening News*, June 23, 1900, 2; and "B. H. Roberts Case Dismissed," *Deseret Evening*

of the Woman's Board, Emeline Pierson said:

I would not dare at this juncture to send you the many facts that we have had through our agent, Mr. Campbell, because we cannot be too careful in guarding our plans from the knowledge of the Mormons. The prosecutions that are now going on in Salt Lake City by which elders and apostles and high dignitaries of the Mormon Church, including Roberts himself, are being indicted, are not being conducted by Mr. Campbell himself, although, as you may readily believe, he is securing the evidence by which another agent [Owen] is getting the indictments.<sup>148</sup>

Meanwhile, Campbell was busy on other fronts in his quest to unseat Roberts. He wrote several articles in *The Kinsman*, some of which appeared subsequently in pamphlet form and were distributed through the Woman's Board of Home Missions and the League of Social Service.<sup>149</sup> One pamphlet, *Questions and Answers on Mormonism*, apprised readers that Mormons believed that "the mission of their Church is to control first this continent and ultimately to rule the whole world." To check the advancing power of Mormonism, Campbell urged readers "to arouse public sentiment so as to make it impolitic for the politicians and our National Government to make any more compromises with this religio-political monstrosity."<sup>150</sup> Another of Campbell's missives, "Reasons Why B. H. Roberts of Utah, Should Be Expelled from the House of Representatives," was distributed nationally by the Woman's Board to newspapers, clergymen, and missionary society officers. In it, Campbell argued that Roberts's "lawbreaking, which resulted in his conviction and sentence to prison, debars him from citizenship"

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*News*, November 25, 1901, 5.

<sup>148</sup>Emeline G. Pierson, Letter to Mrs. D. B. Wells, November 9, 1899, Record Group 305-19-6, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives. See also "After Jos. E. Taylor," *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 14, 1899, 8; and "Owen Writes Streeper," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 20, 1899, 5.

<sup>149</sup>"She Has Furnished Funds," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, October 26, 1899, 1.

<sup>150</sup>William R. Campbell, *Questions and Answers on Mormonism* (pamphlet), Report to Woman's Board of Home Missions, 1899, 8-11, Record Group 305-31-4, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

and therefore makes him ineligible to hold public office.<sup>151</sup>

As secretary of the Salt Lake Ministerial Association, Campbell sent form letters to Protestant ministers asking them to preach sermons in defense of the Christian home on the last Sunday of October and to organize mass meetings in opposition to Roberts.<sup>152</sup> The *New York Journal* gave full-page coverage to Campbell's request and commented, "Ten thousand pulpits in every part of America, will thunder a mighty protest in time to make it felt when Congress assembles a few weeks later."<sup>153</sup> In another mailing, using names and addresses supplied by the Woman's Board of Home Missions, Campbell urged "earnest and patriotic Republicans" to use their influence in the party to promote the expulsion of Roberts and the passage of an antipolygamy amendment. Campbell explained, however, that his request transcended party politics. "We make our appeal upon higher grounds," he said, "we ask you to fight for our country and our homes. . . . [T]his is the only way to put a stop to this anti-American practice."<sup>154</sup>

During the same time period, Campbell solicited financial support from Gentile businessmen in Utah who gave anonymously, not wanting to offend their local Mormon clientele. In similar fashion, Campbell and some of his fellow ministers contributed substantial

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<sup>151</sup>"Reasons Why B. H. Roberts of Utah, Should Be Expelled from the House of Representatives," quoted in "Roberts Disqualified," *New York Tribune*, September 18, 1899, 1.

<sup>152</sup>"Rev. William R. Campbell's Letter," *Salt Lake Tribune*, September 17, 1899, 8; and "Petition of Salt Lake Ministers," *New York Journal*, October 12, 1899, 5. Along with the letter approved by the Ministerial Association, Campbell included one of his own that contained statements regarding the attitude of southern Democrats to the Mormons that were quoted by the *San Francisco Examiner* as coming from the Ministerial Association. Campbell subsequently gave an explanation for his unilateral action, which was accepted. "Mr. Campbell's Story," *Salt Lake Herald*, October 17, 1899, 8.

<sup>153</sup>"Mighty Roberts Protest," *New York Journal*, October 12, 1899, 5.

<sup>154</sup>William R. Campbell, "Letter to Patriotic Republicans," November 15, 1899, Westminster College Archives. See also "Mr. Campbell's Letter," *Salt Lake Herald*, October 17, 1899, 8. Emeline Pierson informed Mary James, "I think Mr. Campbell's appeals from Salt Lake have had their weight. We have been furnishing him with addresses constantly." Emeline Pierson, Letter to Mary James, September 11, 1899, Record Group 305-19-6, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

amounts of money to fund the campaign against Roberts. According to William Paden, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in Salt Lake City who assisted Campbell in contacting local businessmen:

As a matter of fact, twice as much money as we raised was put into the campaign by the ministers themselves. Campbell has, I think, sunk nearly a thousand dollars in the campaign during the last year [1899]. I think that Mr. McCreery [Hugh H. McCreery, Presbyterian pastor in Mt. Pleasant, Utah] is liable for six or seven hundred dollars more. I myself have directly contributed nearly five hundred dollars towards the work; that is I have spent about one-fifth of my own salary in spreading antipolygamy literature or obtaining facts—such facts as were absolutely essential to the exclusion of Mr. Roberts from Congress.<sup>155</sup>

Despite Campbell's efforts to conceal his involvement with indictments of alleged polygamists, the Mormon press in Salt Lake City kept tabs on Campbell's publications. The *Salt Lake Herald* carried an article entitled, "Joke on Rev. Mr. Campbell," relating how Campbell inadvertently revealed his plans to indict polygamists while traveling on a train to Centerville. Campbell mistakenly thought he was speaking confidentially to an elderly Gentile supporter when in fact he was talking to a Latter-day Saint. When apprised of his error, Campbell reportedly said, "Good heavens! A thousand pardons. Please don't say anything about this. Oh! What a blunder."<sup>156</sup> Whether apocryphal or factual, the tale indicates that Mormons were aware of Campbell's participation in identifying and prosecuting alleged Mormon polygamists.

While in Salt Lake City, Campbell frequently updated members of the Woman's Missionary Board in New York, writing encouraging letters about the progress of the Roberts campaign. He also urged them to expand their efforts to include the circulation of petitions

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<sup>155</sup>William Paden, Letter to Josiah Strong, March 6, 1900, Record Group 195-1-3, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives. In terms of today's dollars, Campbell's contribution would be approximately \$25,000, using the comparative Consumer Price Index.

<sup>156</sup>"Joke on Rev. Mr. Campbell," *Salt Lake Herald*, October 19, 1899, 8. Another article referred to Campbell as a prolific letter writer who was busy stirring up public sentiment against Roberts. "Handy Letter Writer," *Salt Lake Herald*, December 1, 1899, 8.

supporting an antipolygamy amendment.<sup>157</sup> The women were hesitant about expanding the campaign to include a constitutional amendment. "Mrs. James called for special prayer for guidance in this matter, and the subject was left for consideration."<sup>158</sup> However, the women were generous in their praise of Campbell's pivotal role in raising public awareness of the Mormon menace. Emeline Pierson told Campbell, "It really seems wonderful to me that you have been able to accomplish so much, and I cannot believe that such effort will be lost. You have certainly been wise in your communications to the ministers and to the newspapers, to say nothing of the movement among the women."<sup>159</sup>

Despite their optimism, officers of the Woman's Board of Home Missions worried that Campbell's frenetic pace of anti-Mormon activities would take a toll on his health, but he brushed aside recommendations to lighten his load of responsibilities. In October 1898, Eaton in Washington, D.C., informed McNiece in Utah that Campbell's "health [had] greatly suffered, and for some weeks he was entirely laid aside."<sup>160</sup> A year later, Emeline Pierson noted that Agnes Campbell was so worried about the state of her husband's health due to his heavy workload that she feared she might soon be a widow. She requested financial assistance to receive secretarial training so that she could be self-sufficient and care for her young daughter if her husband became incapacitated or passed away. From their personal funds, Woman's Board members raised money to purchase a typewriter for Agnes so that she could develop secretarial skills at home.<sup>161</sup> Campbell's frequent accusations of harassment and death threats by "deluded Mormons" also heightened anxiety on the Woman's Board about his safety. Emeline Pierson expressed these apprehensions: "I do sincerely hope that you will take

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<sup>157</sup>William R. Campbell, Letter to Woman's Board of Home Missions, June 18, 1899, Record Group 305-7-2, Presbyterian Historical Archives.

<sup>158</sup>Woman's Board of Home Missions, Minutes, June 13, 1899.

<sup>159</sup>Emeline G. Pierson, Letter to William R. Campbell, November 6, 1899, Record Group 305-19-6, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>160</sup>John Eaton, Letter to Robert G. McNiece, October 17, 1898, Westminster College Archives.

<sup>161</sup>Sarah F. Lincoln, Letter to Mrs. J. W. Milne, November 20, 1899, Record Group 305-19-6, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

no risks,” she said, “for we are pursued here with the idea that the Mormons will go almost any length to injure you and perhaps to kill you.”<sup>162</sup>

Beyond concerns about Campbell and his family, members of the Woman’s Board experienced increasing pressure from male denominational executives who deemed their prominence in the Roberts crusade to be highly political and inappropriate for a women’s missionary society. In letters to Mary James and William Campbell, Emeline Pierson confessed “to some little anxiety” about the growing political involvement of their missionary board. “I realize that we must be very careful in beginning this fall campaign,” she said, “lest we do seem to be meddling with what does not belong to us. However, since they [male board secretaries] do not openly admonish us, I do not propose to raise the issue. It seems to me we are in duty bound to carry this campaign to its logical conclusion. If we keep simply to the point of spreading information among the women, and through the women, to the church at large, the agitation will be kept up and public sentiment educated.”<sup>163</sup> Pierson advised the local women to organize the meetings and to secure influential male speakers such as lawyers, judges, and statesmen and then remain in the background. “That is our function, you know, and that is the way we can accomplish the most. What we want is a healthy public sentiment and it must be aroused before December 1st.”<sup>164</sup>

By the fall of 1899, public outrage against Roberts had reached a crescendo, spurred on by lurid newspaper accounts of rampant polygamy in Utah. Strident voices overwhelmingly favored outright re-

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<sup>162</sup>Emeline Pierson, Letter to William R. Campbell, November 6, 1899, Record Group 305–19–6, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>163</sup>Emeline Pierson, Letters to Mrs. Darwin R. James, and to William R. Campbell, September 6, 1899, Record Group 305–19–6, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives. Pierson also expressed “mental reservations” about directly seeking the support of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) because of its political agendas. However, she saw no problem with members approaching such organizations as individuals. Emeline Pierson, Letter to Mrs. Darwin R. James, September 11, 1899, Record Group 305–19–6, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>164</sup>Emeline G. Pierson, Letter to Mrs. John McLeod, September 11, 1899, Record Group 305–19–6, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.



jection of Roberts rather than expulsion after being seated. Acknowledging that he was “at one time influenced by a sense of doubt in regard to this matter,” Campbell reconsidered his position on the subject. He related that an editorial on the Roberts case in *The Outlook*, a New York literary magazine, had finally removed his reservations. The editorial presented a two-fold argument. First, it contended that the language of the Constitution specified only that the House could not admit men who did not meet the requirements of citizenship, age, and residence, but it did not prevent it from excluding men who were, in its judgment, otherwise disqualified. Second, it argued, there were valid reasons why Roberts should be considered unfit for office. He had rendered himself ineligible because he had violated the law of 1882 prohibiting polygamy and invalidated the subsequent amnesty because he had not complied with its conditions. He again rendered himself ineligible by living in polygamous relations subsequent to the amnesty and prior to the admission of the State. He was now living in open violation of the statutes of the state that he claimed to represent—statutes passed to implement a clause in the state constitution prohibiting polygamy that had been a prerequisite to Utah’s admission as a state.<sup>165</sup>

The eastern crusade against Roberts resumed in earnest on October 6, 1899, when 200 enthusiastic women representing a wide range of social and religious organizations met at the headquarters of the American Female Guardian Society and Home for the Friendless in New York. Presbyterians Mary James and Katharine Bennett, two of the featured speakers, passionately denounced Roberts and the Mormon Church. James proclaimed, “The Mormon Church is a church of liars. The system is built upon lies.” She warned that the Mormons were growing rapidly and would soon be able “to control the National destinies” unless women rallied to suppress a movement that was “far more debasing than Mohammedanism.” Echoing James, Katharine Bennett predicted, “If Roberts was to take his seat in Congress, the Mormons will say, ‘We flung down the gauntlet to the people of the United States and they did not dare to take it up.’” Bennett advocated expanding the attack on Mormons. “The expelling of Brigham H. Roberts is not the only step to take,” she said, “it must be made impossible for any other Mormon to be sent to Congress. We must in-

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<sup>165</sup>“The Case of Mr. Roberts,” *The Outlook* 63 (November 1899): 669–71.

fluence voters so they shall require their Representatives and Senators to pass a law to that effect.”<sup>166</sup>

Also attending the meeting was Helen Miller Gould, daughter of the financial tycoon Jay Gould. Her presence gave celebrity status leadership to the movement.<sup>167</sup> As the program drew to a close, Gould proposed that the women approve a resolution promising to do everything in their power to protest the seating of Roberts. The resolution passed by unanimous vote, and Gould was surrounded by a large group of congratulatory well-wishers. Gould told reporters that she welcomed an opportunity to oppose a man who advocated and practiced polygamy. “It would be sad indeed to see a man who stands for the Oriental harem seated among our lawmakers.”<sup>168</sup> Gould subsequently contributed more than six thousand dollars (\$150,000 in today’s dollars) to the anti-Mormon campaign and headed up the antipolygamy amendment drive for New York women.<sup>169</sup>

Campbell had played an important role in securing and sustaining Gould’s support. On several occasions, she credited Campbell with alerting her to the dangers of Mormonism. At a meeting in Irvington, New Jersey, in November 1899, Gould read a letter from Campbell describing how Mormons lied when they said that they did

<sup>166</sup>“Miss Gould to Fight Polygamy,” *New York Journal*, October 7, 1899, 7. See also “An Enthusiastic Meeting Held—Congressman-Elect Roberts Denounced,” *New York Observer*, December 29, 1898, 870; and “The Anti-Mormon Campaign of the Woman’s Board,” *The Assembly Herald* 2 (October 1899): 197.

<sup>167</sup>Helen Miller Gould was the oldest daughter of Jay Gould and Helen Day Miller Gould. Her sister, Anna, was another prominent heiress. The secular press frequently referred to Helen Gould’s wealth. For example, “Helen Gould in Society Again,” *New York Journal*, January 11, 1899, 3, states: “Miss Helen Gould is the richest young woman of New York, the possessor of something like fifteen millions in addition to her home in this city and her country residence at Irvington-on-the-Hudson.”

<sup>168</sup>“Women Attack Mormonism,” *New York Times*, October 7, 1899, 4; and “Helen Gould Denounces Mormon Congressman-Elect,” *The Sun* (New York), October 7, 1899, 4.

<sup>169</sup>“She Has Furnished Funds to Issue Over a Million Pamphlets against Roberts,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, October 26, 1899, 1; “An Anti-Mormon Crusade,” *New York Times*, October 27, 1899, 5; and “Helen Gould on Roberts Case,” *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 15, 1899, 1.

not teach polygamy. According to a reporter who was present at the meeting, "it was a very long letter" but Gould read it in its entirety.<sup>170</sup> At a subsequent meeting, Gould endorsed Campbell as a reliable source of information regarding Mormon attitudes toward plural marriage. Referring to one of his letters, Gould said, "Certainly these statements of Dr. [sic] Campbell's are very important as showing the present attitude of the leading Mormons of Utah toward the question of polygamy."<sup>171</sup>

Gould's largesse enabled Strong's League of Social Services to pursue the paper war vigorously against Roberts by distributing a flood of petitions and anti-Mormon pamphlets including several written by Campbell. The league reportedly sent out petitions to 50,000 clergymen of all denominations, 2,500 Young Men's Christian Associations, 1,600 women's organizations, 700 Salvation Army posts, and 650 of the leading religious and secular newspapers in the country, besides hundreds of Epworth [Methodist] Leagues, Young People's Christian Endeavor societies, Woman's Christian Temperance Unions, and thousands of individuals in all walks of life.<sup>172</sup> The Presbyterian women were relieved that Gould had channeled her money to Strong because the campaign had reached such an important point and had become so politicized. According to Emeline Pierson, the Woman's Board was "ready to pass the whole affair into Dr. Strong's hands."<sup>173</sup> Nevertheless, the board continued to be responsible for Campbell's salary because Gould had designated her funds to

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<sup>170</sup>"Protest against Roberts," *New York Times*, November 15, 1899, 8. See also "Helen Gould on Roberts Case," *Salt Lake Tribune*, October 15, 1899, 1; and "Miss Gould Heard Again," *New York Tribune*, November 15, 1899, 6.

<sup>171</sup>"Miss Helen Gould's Fight against Roberts," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 3, 1899, 9.

<sup>172</sup>"She Has Furnished Funds," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, October 26, 1899, 1. See also "An Anti-Mormon Crusade," *New York Times*, October 27, 1899, 5. Gould subsequently gave the New York Public Library the Berrian Collection of works relating to Mormonism that included 450 volumes, 300 pamphlets, and 52 volumes of newspapers. "Miss Gould Makes Gift to Library," *New York Journal*, January 11, 1900, 1.

<sup>173</sup>Emeline G. Pierson, Letter to Mrs. D. B. Wells, November 9, 1899, Record Group 305-19-6, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

be used solely for the dissemination of literature.<sup>174</sup>

The combination of negative publicity and the deluge of petitions directed to specific congressmen had a telling effect when they voted on seating Roberts. Congressman John Barman (R-California) told reporters that his mail contained “carloads of protests” from constituents making it virtually impossible for him to ignore their call for Roberts’s rejection.<sup>175</sup> Speaking to a group of church women in November 1899, Congressman Townsend Scudder (D-New York) likewise acknowledged their impact. “I have received petitions signed by several thousands of voters in my district of all shades of religious belief asking me to vote for the expulsion of Congressman Roberts and I shall certainly do so. I should think that my constituents were about unanimous in the matter, judging from the petitions. Democrats and Republicans alike have signed them. I will justify my vote on the ground that it is backed up by the moral sentiment of the whole people.” Scudder cautioned, however, that “it was an arbitrary action and one that could not be used as a precedent for the exercise of a similar power for the unseating of members without legal cause.”<sup>176</sup>

To be sure, some congressmen resisted this pressure. Representative Robert W. Miers (D-Indiana), a member of the special committee on the Roberts case, pointed out: “If Roberts is ousted, it will be due to public sentiment which, were a member of Congress to heed in all cases, he would only be violating the oath he has taken to support the Constitution. . . . The right to be sworn as a member and the right to maintain his seat as such are very different propositions.” John F. Wilson, a non-voting delegate from Arizona Territory, wrote, “Members on our side voted against the swearing of Roberts through fear of their constituency. Petitions seven million strong, teemed in, and fanaticism has prevailed.”<sup>177</sup>

The Presbyterian women anxiously awaited Campbell’s return to Washington from his extended stay in Salt Lake City. In late No-

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<sup>174</sup>Sarah F. Lincoln, Letter to Miss I. M. Terrett, November 1, 1899, Record Group 305–19–6, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>175</sup>“Public Press on Roberts Case,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 4, 1899, 5, reprinting a *New York World* article published December 11, 1899, that quotes John Barman and several others.

<sup>176</sup>Townsend Scudder, quoted in “Mormons on Long Island,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, November 27, 1899, 7.

<sup>177</sup>“Miers on Roberts,” *Deseret Evening News*, January 9, 1900, 4; John

vember, board president Mary James wrote to a correspondent: "I hope that Mr. Campbell and his assistants, with their ammunition, will soon be here, but it is evident that no time should be lost even now."<sup>178</sup> She needn't have worried. Weeks before the final vote, Campbell was supremely confident of its outcome. His lobbying efforts and the barrage of petitions had cowed congressional opposition into submission. He assured readers of *The Kinsman* that "his [Roberts'] rejection by Congress is a foregone conclusion. It will be one of the greatest victories that have ever been won upon American soil. It is a victory for the home which is a victory for our free institutions."<sup>179</sup>

William Randolph Hearst left nothing to chance as his *New York Journal's* crusade against Roberts neared its conclusion. During the months leading up to the convening of the 56th Congress in December 1899, he frequently devoted front-page coverage to pejorative articles about Roberts, accompanied by numerous derisive cartoons. A few days before Congress convened, Hearst trumpeted the transport of forty massive scrolls containing seven million signatures opposing the seating of Roberts from New York to the nation's capitol. Decorated in a covering of red, white, and blue bunting, a large van, drawn by four horses, arrived at the *Journal's* office to convey the petitions to the railroad station. Placed end to end, they stood thirty feet high. In what may or may not have been Hearst hyperbole, the *Journal* narrative stated that, if unrolled into a single strip, the petitions would reach from New York to Washington. According to the newspaper account, "Crowds of curious men and women stood around and gazed in open-mouthed wonder as a large corps of *Journal* employees carried out roll after roll, forty of them in all, and placed them carefully in the waiting vehicle. It took two hours to load the van before it

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F. Wilson, "Where He Stands," *Deseret Evening News*, December 29, 1899, 4.

<sup>178</sup>Letter, unsigned but possibly by Mary James, to Mrs. D. M. Cooper, November 24, 1899, Record Group 305-19-6, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>179</sup>"Congratulations," *The Kinsman*, December 1899, 48. Later, 81 members of the House of Representatives admitted that they had favored expulsion rather than exclusion but succumbed to the overwhelming weight of public opinion. "National Capital Topics," *New York Times*, January 28, 1900, 6.

ST. LOUIS • TUESDAY—PM. **EDITION FOR AND ADVERTISER** **OVERSEA NEW YORK** **TUESDAY—PM** **PRICE ONE CENT TO CIRCULATE NEW YORK, DECEMBER 5, 1899.—16 PAGES.**

# FIRST VICTORY WON FOR AMERICAN WOMANHOOD!

Congress Receives the Journal's 7,000,000 Signature Petition Voicing the Nation's Protest, and Refuses to Enroll Roberts, the Polygamist from Utah, as a Member.



Mrs. David B. Henderson,  
wife of the Speaker.



Miss Henderson,  
daughter of the Speaker.



Mrs. Nathan B. Scott,  
wife of the Senator from West Virginia.



Miss Wilson,  
daughter of the Secretary of Agriculture.



Mrs. J. M. Thurston,  
wife of the Senator from Nevada.



Mrs. Mark A. Hanna,  
wife of the Senator from Ohio.



Mrs. Lyman J. Gage,  
wife of the Secretary of the Treasury.

## SEVEN DISTINGUISHED WOMEN WHO ARE DEEPLY INTERESTED IN THE JOURNAL'S CRUSADE TO UNSEAT POLYGAMIST ROBERTS.

"First Victory Won for American Womanhood," New York Journal, December 5, 1899, 1. The women in the photo are (left), Mrs. David B. Henderson, wife of the Speaker of the House; Miss Henderson, their daughter; Mrs. Nathan H. Scott, wife of the senator from West Virginia; Miss Wilson, daughter of the Secretary of Agriculture; Mrs. J. M. Thurston, bride of the senator from Nebraska; Mrs. Mark A. Hanna, wife of the senator from Ohio; and Mrs. Lyman J. Gage, wife of the Secretary of the Treasury.





Cartoon, New York Journal, December 5, 1899, 1. The writing at the bottom of the cartoon reads, "Roberts, the Polygamist, Examines the 7,000,000 Signatures to the Journal's Protest Against Him as a Member of Congress." The bottom line reads, "Described by Homer Davenport at the Capital at 11:15 o'clock yesterday morning."

started for the train depot.”<sup>180</sup>

In Washington, another wagon filled with the petitions paraded down Pennsylvania Avenue to the south end of the Capitol with streamers reading “ANTI-ROBERTS PETITION SEVEN MILLION NAMES NEW YORK JOURNAL.”<sup>181</sup> Attendants bore the scrolls in at 10:00 A.M. on opening day, December 4, amid cheers of approval from the visitors’ gallery. Capitol police were summoned to hold back the crowds that surrounded the petitions before they could be properly arranged. The original plan was to pile the petitions in one mammoth cone before the desk of the Speaker of the House, but they obscured his view of the House members. The cone was reduced in size and some of the petitions were removed to a public area outside the House floor. Hearst gleefully headlined the article, “Journal’s Mountain of Names against Polygamy is ‘Too Big.’”<sup>182</sup>

When the session began at noon, highly excited spectators crammed the House gallery. According to the *Deseret News* account:

Seldom, if ever, have such enormous crowds swarmed about the House to witness the opening scenes of the session, as besieged the doors today. . . . For hours before noon, people streamed through the corridors to the galleries which looked down upon the arena where the statesmen were gathering. By 11 o’clock a brilliant gathering had assembled. The galleries were black with people and through the swinging doors could be seen pushing hundreds who were unable to gain admission.<sup>183</sup>

When the clerk called Roberts to be sworn in, Robert Tayler (R-Ohio) objected to his seating and moved that the issue be referred to a committee for consideration. Tayler’s motion was adopted, and

<sup>180</sup>“Rolls of Names Fill Huge Van,” *New York Journal*, December 2, 1899, 1.

<sup>181</sup>“Journal’s Petitions Safe within the Nation’s Capitol,” *New York Journal*, December 3, 1899, 1; and “Journal’s Petitions Will Rest before the Speaker’s Seat,” *New York Journal*, December 4, 1899, 2.

<sup>182</sup>“Journal’s Mountain of Names against Polygamy Is ‘Too Big,’” *New York Journal*, December 5, 1899, 1.

<sup>183</sup>“Objections Made to Mr. Roberts,” *Deseret Evening News*, December 4, 1899, 1.

the House appointed an investigative committee of nine members.<sup>184</sup> The Presbyterian Woman's Board celebrated Roberts's setback at a public meeting in which Helen Gould and Josiah Strong were the featured speakers. This meeting unanimously passed a resolution congratulating members of the House of Representatives for their action and expressing hope that "the exhaustive investigation being made will result in such recommendations to the House as shall vindicate the honor and integrity of our country."<sup>185</sup>

Roberts declined several opportunities to testify under oath; but other witnesses, both friendly and hostile, testified in hearings that lasted for the next six weeks. Roberts questioned them and made comments on their statements.<sup>186</sup> Engaged in last-minute lobbying, Campbell arranged for ministerial colleagues from Utah to speak in opposition to Roberts. On January 6, 1900, while the hearings were still on-going, Roberts delivered a five-hour address to the House Investigating Committee, one that was frequently interrupted by questions and comments by Chairman Tayler. Roberts argued that he had met all the specified qualifications for congressional membership and emphasized that there was no requirement by Congress that previously contracted matrimonial associations in Utah should be interrupted. Like other arguments, Roberts defended the legitimacy of his citizenship and praised the patriotism of Utah residents. He decried the opponents who were "hounding him" in the national press. "They were not the bankers, merchants, lawyers, and other substantial citizens of Utah," he said, "but they were in the main eastern missionaries

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<sup>184</sup>"Comments on Roberts," *Deseret Evening News*, December 6, 1899, 4. In addition to Tayler, committee members were Charles B. Landis (R), Robert P. Morris (R), Romeo H. Freer (R), Smith McPherson (R), Samuel W. Lanham (D), Robert W. Miers (D), Charles E. Littlefield (R), and David A. De Armond (D). Party affiliation was not a factor in their voting; neither voting in committee nor the final voting in the House was along party lines. Bitton, "The B. H. Roberts Case of 1898-1900," 38.

<sup>185</sup>"Glad Roberts Is Out," *New York Times*, December 20, 1899, 5. See also "Roberts on the Defense," *New York Times*, December 20, 1899, 5; and "Women Follow Up on War on Polygamy," *New York Journal*, December 20, 1899, 1.

<sup>186</sup>See, for example, "Story Told," *Salt Lake Tribune*, December 20, 1899, 1.

who had gone to Utah to oppose Mormonism.”<sup>187</sup>

On January 23, 1900, the investigating committee presented majority and minority reports that ushered in three days of heated debate. A reporter from the *New York Times* described it as “an oratorical field day. . . . The galleries were packed to suffocation, chiefly with women. . . . Strange to say, most of the applause he [B. H. Roberts] won was from women. But while they appeared to be his only partisans, other women manifested their bitter hostility by hissing at him at every opportunity.”<sup>188</sup> The majority report advocated that Roberts be excluded from his seat while the minority recommended allowing Roberts to take the oath of office and then to be expelled. Tayler presented the majority report while Charles E. Littlefield (Democrat) spoke for the minority. Tayler amplified the three grounds for Roberts’s exclusion: his violation of the Edmunds Act, his living in “open and flagrant and notorious violation of the statutes of the Congress he seeks to enter,” and his election as a violation of the compact by which Utah was admitted to the Union. Basically, all three arguments came down to the fact that Roberts was a known polygamist.

In his minority report, Littlefield agreed that Roberts should be expelled, but only after being seated. He insisted that the House had no authority to add to the three constitutional requirements for election. If the majority view prevailed, Littlefield argued, “No man can tell when he is elected, what new qualification or disqualification may be raised when he appears before the bar of the House.” He concluded by affirming, “I want Brigham Roberts to have his full constitutional rights, namely, the seat to which he was elected.”<sup>189</sup>

When Littlefield finished his speech, Tayler requested that Roberts be given time to present his side of the case. Reiterating his previous arguments regarding his constitutional right to his seat, Roberts stated unequivocally that, since statehood, “there has not been a single plural marriage in Utah. The plural relationships have been bro-

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<sup>187</sup>“Utah’s Compact with the Nation,” *Deseret Evening News*, January 6, 1900, 1; “Mr. Roberts Speaks in His Own Behalf,” *Salt Lake Herald*, January 6, 1900, 1; and, “Roberts Wins Friends on the Committee,” *Salt Lake Herald*, January 7, 1900, 1.

<sup>188</sup>“Roberts Case in Debate,” *New York Times*, January 24, 1900, 5.

<sup>189</sup>“Discussion in the Roberts Case,” *Deseret Evening News*, January 23, 1900, 1–2; and “Littlefield and Roberts,” *Deseret Evening News*, January 24, 1900, 1.

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The 20th Century  
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# NEW YORK JOURNAL


AND ADVERTISER

DRACULA  
BLOOD STOKERS and enemies of  
HUMAN VAMPIRES  
now meeting in the  
EVENING JOURNAL


THE  
MAIN SHEET OF TO-DAY'S EDITION OF THE JOURNAL CONSISTS OF 24 PAGES.

## COMPLETE VICTORY FOR AMERICAN WOMANHOOD IN ROBERTS COMMITTEE REPORT—JOURNAL'S FIGHT WON

THE CASE OF A BRIBE-TAKER OR A BURGLESER OR A MURDERER  
is trivial, is a mere ripple on the surface of things, com-  
pared with this (Roberts) is a trenching, deep-rooted,  
subliminal evil, and it is the duty of the Majority Report of the Roberts  
Investigating Committee.



The Majority Offers a Resolution to Exclude the  
Polygamist "By Reason of His Notorious and  
Defiant Violation of the Law of the Land,  
Holding Himself Above the Law."



**WASHINGTON, Jan. 20.**—The House Committee is unanimous in its belief that Mr. Roberts ought not to remain a member of the House of Representatives. This is the verdict resulting from the crusade of the New York Journal against Po-

New York Journal, January 21, 1900. Hearst's paper proclaimed "Complete Victory for American Womanhood in Roberts Committee Report—Journal's Fight Won," ignoring the minority report. The subheading reads: "The Majority Offers a Resolution to Exclude the Polygamist 'By Reason of His Notorious and Defiant Violation of the Law of the Land, Holding Himself above the Law.'" Lady Justice (right) points her sword at the vanquished Roberts (left).



ken up in many cases.”<sup>190</sup> A reporter for the *New York Tribune* captured the emotional conclusion to Roberts’s stirring address:

You can neither exclude nor expel me. I will cling so hard to the pillars of liberty that you shall not drag me from them without bringing down the whole temple. [Applause and hisses.] I have lived with a good conscience until this day, and am sensible of no act of shame upon my part. You can brand me with shame and send me forth, but I shall leave with head erect and brow undaunted and walk the earth as angels walk the clouds. If you violate the Constitution, all the shame will be with you.<sup>191</sup>

When Roberts finished speaking, the gallery audience responded vociferously. The *New York Tribune* and the *New York Times* had an almost identical description of what happened. “There was a great outburst in the galleries when Mr. Roberts concluded. Many of the women were especially demonstrative.” Neither specified the nature of the demonstration, but given the mixed response throughout Roberts’s speech, a combination of hisses and applause was the most likely scenario.<sup>192</sup> The *Deseret Evening News* gave a positive twist to the response, describing “a great outburst of applause in the galleries when Mr. Roberts concluded. Many of the ladies in the galleries were especially demonstrative.”<sup>193</sup>

As the debate drew to a close, Charles B. Landis (R-Indiana) gave a passionate oration in opposition to seating Roberts. Relying heavily on information provided by Campbell, Landis argued that Latter-day Saints, including Roberts, continued to practice polygamy despite disclaimers by Church authorities. He credited “the womanhood of America” as being “the head and the front of the movement” to abolish polygamy. “It is the voice of sober, settled, womanly conviction. It is the cry of threatened honor. It is the plea for the home and the protest against the harem.” Landis concluded with a stirring

<sup>190</sup>“Roberts Case in Debate,” *New York Times*, January 24, 1900, 5.

<sup>191</sup>“Creed of the Mormon Church,” *New York Tribune*, January 24, 1900, 2. For Roberts’s previous speech, see “Roberts Makes Appeal,” *New York Tribune*, December 8, 1899, 2.

<sup>192</sup>“Creed of the Mormon Church,” *New York Tribune*, January 24, 1900, 2, and “Roberts Case in Debate,” *New York Times*, January 24, 1900, 5.

<sup>193</sup>“Littlefield and Roberts,” *Deseret Evening News*, January 24, 1900, 1.



charge to his congressional colleagues:

The people of this country are waiting for us to act; they want us to act in a straight line, not in a circle. They are waiting in New England, whose homes have been made a pattern for this continent. They are waiting in the broad sweep of the Mississippi Valley, a section of this country purged of this very infamy a half century ago. They are waiting in the new States of the West, States whose territory has been invaded and whose atmosphere has been poisoned by this very plague. And away down south in Dixie, where honor is religion, where gallantry is law, and virtue is the high ideal of beautiful womanhood, States are waiting today, waiting for American chivalry to speak. [Loud applause.]<sup>194</sup>

As Campbell predicted, Roberts was denied membership in the 56th Congress. On January 25, 1900, the minority resolution to admit and then expel Roberts was defeated by a vote of 244 to 81 with 29 abstentions. The majority resolution for preemptory exclusion passed 268 to 50 with 36 not voting, bringing the crusade against Roberts to a successful conclusion.<sup>195</sup> A few days later, Emeline Pierson congratulated Campbell. "What a victory you have won! We read 'Mr. Campbell' in every word of the Landis speech. We praise the Lord for what He hath wrought and we know He will continue to guide."<sup>196</sup> Nevertheless, some of Campbell's supporters continued to express doubts regarding the constitutionality of the process employed to unseat Roberts. Contending that a dangerous precedent had been set by not accepting his credentials from a sovereign state of the Union, they thought he should have been seated and then expelled. As one writer

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<sup>194</sup>Charles B. Landis, "Arraignment of Utahn Polygamy," *The Kinsman*, February 1900, 101–16. See also "The Power to Exclude," *The Sun* (New York), January 25, 1900, 2. For Mormon responses to Landis, see "Wild Speech in the House," *Deseret Evening News*, January 24, 1900, 1; "The Point in View," *Deseret Evening News*, February 3, 1900, 4; and "Religious Lawlessness," *Deseret Evening News*, March 15, 1900, 4.

<sup>195</sup>Bitton, "The B. H. Roberts Case of 1898–1900," 46. See also "Journal's Poll of the House Shows That Roberts Is Doomed," *New York Journal*, January 25, 1899, 3; and "No Seat in the Congress for Roberts," *New York Journal*, January 26, 1899, 1–2.

<sup>196</sup>Emeline G. Pierson, Letter to William R. Campbell, January 29, 1900, Record Group 305–22–23, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.



Cartoon captioned "Back to his roof-trees and firesides," *New York Journal*, January 18, 1900, p. 1. Tag hanging on Roberts's coffin reads, "Deceased Missent." The sign says, "To Utah, 2000 Miles." At left in the distance the Mormon Empire is portrayed in tears.

expressed it, "How Congressmen can refuse to acknowledge his clear title to his seat, is only explainable by the assumption that they are afraid of public opinion at home, which would misinterpret a vote to admit him on his credentials as a vote in favor of polygamy."<sup>197</sup>

Brigham H. Roberts had a different perspective on the significance of his congressional rebuff. He announced that he would not

<sup>197</sup>William Glasmann, "Roberts and Congress," *Ogden Standard*, January 24, 1899, 4. Glasmann was not a Mormon. See also "The Exclusion of Roberts," *New York Observer*, February 1, 1900, 140. According to "Method

stand for reelection even if his people should ask it and also said that he would not appeal the decision in court. Speaking in September 1900 to a gathering of Mormons in Brooklyn, he reflected on his rejection's impact on the future of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints:

One thought that thrilled my heart in the midst of the severe personal attack upon me within the twelvemonth, the one rift that gave a silver, nay, a golden lining, to all the dark storm clouds that gathered about me in the Capitol at Washington, was that hundreds of thousands would learn what Mormonism really is, because of this consecrated storm upon my uncovered head. . . . The manifestation of sectarian bigotry that was exhibited in my case has ended in a triumph for us. It's a case of the faster you pluck us the swifter we grow. It is an agitation that will lead to the propagation of the faith, for there has been a marked increase in inquiry ever since. I have often said in Utah that we should give our sister, Helen Gould, a polite vote of thanks. She will be astonished to find that she has been an instrument for the propagation of the Mormon Faith.<sup>198</sup>

With the rejection of Roberts a *fait accompli*, Campbell was at the apex of his ministerial career. No longer an obscure Presbyterian home missionary, he was regarded by Mormons as a tenacious adver-

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of Unseating Roberts Is Being Criticized," *New York Times*, January 28, 1900, 6, about eighty House members admitted in private conversations that the proposal to admit Roberts and then to expel him was "the less brutal method to be followed. But there was a weight of sentiment, exerted by so many respected people all over the country, known to the Representatives of each district, that it became practically—from a political point of view—impossible, to avoid the most direct way to exclusion."

<sup>198</sup>"Brigham H. Roberts Talks," *New York Times*, October 1, 1900, 7; and "Talk by Brigham H. Roberts," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, October 1, 1900, 3. In 1903, speaking in the Tabernacle about Presbyterian efforts to "crush Mormonism," Roberts recalled similar efforts in 1899: "What effect did the illegal act of Congress have on 'Mormonism'? About as much effect as a mosquito alighting on the moon would have on that sphere. The 'Mormon' octopus survived that awful blow! And even the gentleman who was denied his seat, I am informed, survived also; and I have not heard that his shadow has grown less because of that experience." Brigham H. Roberts, "How? A Discourse Delivered at the MIA Conference, May 31, 1903," *Improvement Era* 6 (1903): 658–72.

sary, respected by Presbyterians as an articulate apologist, and recognized by politicians as an effective lobbyist. Indicative of Campbell's elevated status, in January 1900 he secured a private audience with President William McKinley. Charles H. Grosvenor, influential Republican congressman from Ohio, with whom he had previously interacted during the B. H. Roberts campaign, prepped Campbell for his presidential conversation. Grosvenor gave him a note of introduction and said, "Be sure to speak plainly to the President." Campbell reported to Emeline Pierson that he was "promptly ushered into the presence of the President. He gave me my own time to talk, but I felt I must be brief, as there were many people waiting to see him who had been there before I came."<sup>199</sup>

According to Campbell, McKinley asked if "the intelligent young people of Utah" still believed in polygamy and seemed surprised when he received an affirmative answer. Emphasizing that polygamy was not a dead issue in Utah, Campbell used the opportunity to impress upon McKinley the importance of a speedy passage of an antipolygamy amendment. Although the president was noncommittal on that point, he asked Campbell for the names of new polygamists who held federal appointments in Utah and, according to Campbell's letter, promised to refer them to the postmaster-general for action. McKinley then inquired about the conduct of new Mormon converts who had come to Utah during the past year. Campbell told him that a young woman (unnamed) who had recently arrived in Utah was attempting to convert the young men of Salt Lake City to polygamy "on the grounds that it was a physical necessity, & c." As they parted, McKinley reiterated his request to be notified if any more polygamists were recommended for appointment to federal offices and assured Campbell that they would not be approved.<sup>200</sup>

A few hours after his session with the president, an exuberant Campbell typed a five-page letter to Emeline Pierson, describing in detail his conversation with the chief executive. Campbell noted that

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<sup>199</sup>William R. Campbell, Letter to Emeline G. Pierson, January 22, 1900, Record Group 305-22-23, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>200</sup>*Ibid.* Campbell's access to McKinley may also have been facilitated by Mary James's influence. Her husband, Darwin James, a former Congressman, maintained close contacts with Republican leaders. Mary James had a private interview with McKinley in December 1900. Woman's Board of Home Missions, Minutes, December 11, 1900.

two years ago, he had found it impossible to secure an audience with the President but now the situation had dramatically changed. He attributed the difference in McKinley's attitude "to the fact that he has heard from the women of the land and that he suspects that some of these women are my friends." Campbell also expressed concern that no notice of this interview be leaked to the press because "I don't want to do anything to prejudice my case." Ending on a note of self-deprecation, Campbell said, "I am not here to advertise myself, but to do what good I may be able to do. I merely give this information to the women of the Board for their encouragement, as they have a perfect right to know all that I do in this work."<sup>201</sup>

Emboldened by his success, Campbell announced that he was launching a self-directed national campaign for a constitutional amendment to prohibit polygamy. He designated *The Kinsman* as the official journal of the new venture and cited plans to set up an office in Washington where he intended to monitor and influence congressional legislation.<sup>202</sup> Although the Woman's Board of Home Missions advised against it, Campbell insisted on operating independently of Josiah Strong and the League of Social Service. Deeming the league "an absolute failure as a means of creating public sentiment," Campbell was convinced that his first-hand knowledge of conditions in Utah gave him credibility among congressional leaders that other well-intentioned antipolygamy crusaders lacked. "Members of Congress are tired of reform organizations," he said. "They look upon reformers as a lot of disagreeable cranks who have no powerful constituency behind them, and who are not to be feared, but who should be endured as pleasantly as possible, so as not to give them any needless offense."<sup>203</sup>

Notwithstanding his outward display of confidence, Campbell was aware of the magnitude of this undertaking. Reenlisting the sup-

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<sup>201</sup>William R. Campbell, Letter to Emeline G. Pierson, January 22, 1900, Record Group 305-22-23, Presbyterian Historical Archive.

<sup>202</sup>"Special Announcement," *The Kinsman*, December 1899, 44; "The Logic of the Situation," *The Kinsman*, February 1900, 36-37; "The Anti-Polygamy Campaign," *The Kinsman*, July 1899, 267-68; and "Ministers Urge the Amendment," *Deseret Evening News*, February 13, 1900, 8.

<sup>203</sup>William R. Campbell, Letter to Emeline Pierson, February 2, 1900, Record Group 305-22-23, and Emeline Pierson, Letters to William R. Campbell, January 17, and February 1 and 23, 1900, Record Group

port of Presbyterian women, Campbell told Emeline Pierson, "The Roberts case was mere child's play compared to the amendment. It is a ten times more difficult undertaking than the fight against Roberts. We must have all organizations at work, and all must work to the same end."<sup>204</sup> He also detected reluctance on the part of legislators to revisit the Mormon issue. "Although I find the members of Congress very pleasant," he said, "I can easily see that they have practically settled down to the idea that they have met the demands of public sentiment upon this question for the session." His concluding sentence reflected his agitated state of mind: "Please pardon my dogmatic style of writing. I am feeling desperate, because we are losing this opportunity to do so great a work for God and country."<sup>205</sup>

Campbell made several attempts to influence the 56th Congress to endorse an antipolygamy amendment. Scheduled to testify before the House Judicial Committee in early February 1900, Campbell feared that his words would have little impact on congressmen in the absence of a deluge of letters and petitions. He pleaded with the Woman's Board and other Presbyterian offices to send delegations in large numbers to show support for his cause. "It is absolutely necessary to have a good delegation of our friends here, or Congress will be sure to get the impression that perhaps I am about the only one left who cares anything about it; and the matter will be dropped. Then it can never be brought up again without fighting the whole campaign throughout the country."<sup>206</sup> Although women attended in large numbers to hear Campbell and Josiah Strong give testimony, their presence failed to sway the legislators.<sup>207</sup>

After Congress adjourned in 1901 without taking action on the

305-20-1, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives. Campbell had some concerns about his freedom to edit the *Kinsman* and other issues of control if he worked under the auspices of Strong's League.

<sup>204</sup>William R. Campbell, Letter to Emeline Pierson, January 29, 1900, Record Group 305-22-23, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives. See also Woman's Board of Home Missions, Minutes, February 13, 1900.

<sup>205</sup>William R. Campbell, Letter to Emeline Pierson, February 2, 1900, Record Group 305-22-23, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>206</sup>William R. Campbell, Letter to Emeline Pierson, February 3, 1900, Record Group 305-22-23, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>207</sup>"Scared at Increase of Mormons," *Deseret Evening News*, February



desired amendment, Campbell acknowledged privately to Sheldon Jackson in Salt Lake City that financial support was not forthcoming and that lawmakers were reluctant to become involved in anti-Mormon activities.<sup>208</sup> In addition, the secular press no longer gave wide coverage to Mormonism as it had done during the Roberts campaign. According to William Paden, who had edited *The Kinsman* during Campbell's absence in Washington during the 1899–1900 congressional session, “The New York Journal and the Salt Lake Tribune did us good service by engaging Mr. C. M. Owen to hunt up facts concerning the situation during the three months preceding the meeting of Congress. Both papers, however, are now out of the fight, and are playing politics. The Tribune is with us and backs us in all our efforts but no longer takes the initiative.”<sup>209</sup>

Even Campbell's most dependable adherents, the Presbyterian Woman's Board of Home Missions, could not rally its constituents to promote the antipolygamy amendment. Emeline Pierson informed Campbell that the board did not have the same leverage with its members on the constitutional amendment issue as the Roberts case had afforded and cautioned: “The money question will be very precarious.”<sup>210</sup> President Mary James announced that the board had decided to shift its emphasis in continuing its crusade against Mormonism: “We have done our work in trying to prevent Roberts from taking his seat in Congress, and now we are going to turn our attention to the State itself by establishing more Christian Bible schools in Utah.”<sup>211</sup>

Lacking the financial resources to operate independently, in

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20, 1900, 1. See also “Suppression of Polygamy,” *Washington Post*, February 21, 1900, 4; “Polygamists in Office,” *New York Times*, March 4, 1900, 4; and “Says Postmaster Is a Mormon,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, March 4, 1900, 1.

<sup>208</sup>William R. Campbell, Letter to Sheldon Jackson, January 19, 1901, Record Group 239–6–31, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives. Mormon writers were confident that Congress was not interested in promulgating an anti-polygamy amendment. “Congressmen Are Tired Out Now,” *Deseret Evening News*, January 26, 1900, 1.

<sup>209</sup>William Paden, Letter to Josiah Strong, March 6, 1900, Record Group 195–1–3, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>210</sup>Emeline Pierson, Letter to William R. Campbell, February 1, 1900, Record Group 305–2–1, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>211</sup>“To Invade Mormon Stronghold,” *The Sun* (New York), November

1901 Campbell accepted an invitation from the newly formed Interdenominational Council of Women for Christian and Patriotic Service to rally support for an antipolygamy amendment by producing and distributing literature.<sup>212</sup> But that arrangement was short lived. In 1902 the council suspended participation in the project because it was unable to meet the payroll of its extensive office force. Although it continued to be involved in anti-Mormon activities, Campbell no longer had a leadership role in its organizational structure.<sup>213</sup> Also in 1902, *The Kinsman* ceased publication due to inadequate operating capital and declining subscriptions, leaving Campbell without a reliable means of promoting his cause. Despite a flurry of activity during an unsuccessful campaign to unseat Utah Senator Reed Smoot (1903–7), congressional endorsement of an antipolygamy amendment proved to be an unattainable goal. While sporadic efforts to rally support for an antipolygamy amendment continued into the 1920s, they were rearguard movements that failed to generate either public or legislative support.

Despite these setbacks, Campbell remained steadfast in his opposition to Mormonism. In an article entitled, “Mormonism and Purity,” written in 1902, Campbell attacked what he termed “the Mormon theory of life and purity”:

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29, 1899, 6. Presbyterian women continued to participate in anti-Mormon meetings conducted under the auspices of other women’s organizations. “Denounces Mormonism,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, February 19, 1902, 12.

<sup>212</sup>Woman’s Board of Home Missions, Minutes, March 27, 1900. See also Woman’s Board of Home Missions, Minutes, May 8, 1900; “Anti-Polygamy Crusade,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, November 30, 1900, 15; “Want Polygamy Wiped Out,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, February 1, 1901, 15; and “Mormonism Denounced,” *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* May 28, 1901, 5.

<sup>213</sup>“Report of the Interdenominational Council of Women for Christian and Patriotic Service, March 30 1900–November 7 1902, Record Group 195–1–3, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives. The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) continued to play a leading role in the movement. The council changed its name to The International Council for Patriotic Service and broadened its membership to include men. Elizabeth B. Vermilye, “The International Council for Patriotic Service,” in *The Gospel of the Kingdom: Studies in Social Reform and What to Do*, edited by Josiah Strong (New York: American Institute of Social Service) 5 (August 1913): 123–24.

My observations and study of the question extends over a period of fifteen years. I have regularly read three Utah daily papers, one of them, the *Deseret News*, the official organ of the Mormon Church. I have carefully studied their literature, and read their history from the viewpoint of both friends and foes. I have talked face to face with over one hundred and forty Mormon elders engaged in regular mission work, and visited many of the people among whom they operate, and have kept in touch with Eastern converts to the Mormon faith. I have tried honestly and faithfully to get at the real truth in regard to the effect of Mormonism upon its devotees; and from my observation and experience I am compelled to say that the Mormon theory has been a disastrous failure from the first.<sup>214</sup>

Campbell's strident opposition to Mormonism sharply contrasted with that of Presbyterian denominational leaders who were diverting their energies to such pressing social issues as urban poverty and immigrant assimilation. In October 1899, even while the anti-Roberts campaign was ramping up before the opening of the 56th Congress, George F. McAfee, secretary of the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions, advised women teachers in the Utah mission field to avoid Mormon polemics "so far as is possible" and to devote themselves "to teaching Christ and the things which make for peace and eternal life."<sup>215</sup> He gave the same counsel to Presbyterian ministers in Utah, observing that verbal attacks on Mormons produced enemies rather than friends and fostered an image of Latter-day Saints as a persecuted minority.<sup>216</sup> Even Presbyterian missionaries in Utah acknowledged that legislative efforts to suppress Mormonism were futile. From Mount Pleasant, Utah, Serena Neilson Frank wrote: "The Utah problem will never be solved by legislation. . . . I feel it more and more keenly that we will never reach the people by antagonizing them or stirring up all their fighting qualities. The hope of winning them to the Lord Jesus Christ will only be done by

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<sup>214</sup>William R. Campbell, "Mormonism and Purity," *Missionary Review* 25 (January-December 1902): 133-36.

<sup>215</sup>George F. McAfee, Letter to Nellie Jamieson, October 6, 1899, Record Group 111-4-14, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>216</sup>George F. McAfee, Letter to Robert G. McNiece, October 7, 1899, McNiece Papers, Westminster College Archives.

the faithful, loyal work of those whom you send out.”<sup>217</sup>

St. Clair McElway, who had only latterly supported Campbell and Hearst in their anti-Roberts crusade, editorialized in the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* in February 1902:

The general opinion of the officers of the government of the U.S. is that polygamy is disappearing. The general report of impartial investigators of the facts is to the same effect. Statements to the contrary come from adherents to religions which are unsuccessfully competing with Mormonism in Utah, and especially, among those adherents who make their living as salaried propagandists against Mormonism, which they have an interest in stigmatizing as a fountain of polygamy instead of a form of faith. Facts, not hysterics, must rule in these matters. There is not the slightest peril from the Mormons, even if it is true that the faith is spreading, which we doubt. When the nation rises against the Presbyterians, or the Congregationalists, it will be time to consider the peril which we suffer at the hands of the Mormons. As a matter of plain fact, we are not in the slightest peril from any creed whatever. So go to sleep.<sup>218</sup>

While Campbell was not somnolent, he was no longer a prominent anti-Mormon polemicist. After the 56th Congress adjourned, he never returned to Utah to resume his ministry to Mormons. He spent the rest of his life in New York City and Brooklyn where he became a disillusioned warrior in the battle against Mormonism. Even the most ardent anti-Mormon activists had to admit, albeit grudgingly, that Latter-day Saints were becoming accepted as part of the country's pluralistic religious milieu. Notwithstanding the continued circulation of anti-Mormon literature and inflammatory pulpit oratory, Latter-day Saints increasingly tended to be associated with the Tabernacle Choir and abstention from caffeine and nicotine than with plural marriage and political aggrandizement. Numerous articles in popu-

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<sup>217</sup>Serena Neilson Frank, "Legislation and the Mormon Problem," *Home Mission Monthly* 21 (October 1907): 281. Periodically the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church USA passed resolutions supporting an antipolygamy constitutional amendment, but the denomination made no organized effort to promote the cause. For a Mormon response, see "Fighting a Shadow," *Deseret Evening News*, May 22, 1901, 2.

<sup>218</sup>St. Clair McElway, "A Mormon Peril? Fudge!" (editorial), *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, April 15, 1902, 4. See also "Brooklyn Eagle and Brooklyn Presbytery," *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, May 27, 1902, 4.

lar and scholarly publications acknowledged the ongoing social transformation of Mormonism even though they remained reluctant to identify it as being authentically Christian.<sup>219</sup>

In 1908 Campbell transferred his ministerial membership from Utah Presbytery to Brooklyn Presbytery in New York.<sup>220</sup> For several years he served on the staff of the First Presbyterian Church of Brooklyn, functioning as an evangelist to Mormons in the metropolitan area. From 1910 to 1918, however, presbytery records list Campbell as being “without charge,” indicating that he did not hold a pastoral or administrative position in the Presbyterian Church.<sup>221</sup> Although presbytery records do not specify the nature of Campbell’s non-ministerial activities, a communication from Campbell to the Lafayette College Alumni Association in 1912 sheds light on the subject. The college newspaper informed readers that Campbell had become “a large real estate holder of Georgia land and is a specialist on Pecan orchards.”<sup>222</sup>

Campbell’s relationship to the Presbyterian Church became more tenuous in 1913 when he informed the presbytery of his intention to transfer his ministerial credentials to the Congregational Church. Presbytery approved the transfer pending formal notification of Campbell’s acceptance by that denomination. Either Campbell changed his mind or the Congregationalists refused to accept his credentials. For whatever reason, Campbell continued to be listed as a

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<sup>219</sup>For example, William M. Paden, “Is Mormonism Changing?” *Biblical Review*, July 1929, 3–23; Claton S. Rice, “The Present-Day Trend,” *Women and Missions* 3 (December 1926): 329–31.

<sup>220</sup>Utah Presbytery, Minutes, April 3, 1908, Presbyterian Church in the United States, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>221</sup>Brooklyn Presbytery, Minutes, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 1910–18, Presbyterian Historical Society Archives.

<sup>222</sup>“Alumni Notes,” *Lafayette College Journal*, November 1912, 8. During the late 1800s, landowners in the southeastern United States began to realize the potential profit of pecans. Between 1910 and 1925, thousands of acres of pecan trees were planted in southwest Georgia, primarily in Dougherty and Mitchell counties. By 1920 Georgia was annually producing 2.5 million pounds of pecans. “Pecans,” *The New Georgia Encyclopedia*, <http://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/nge/Article.jsp?id=h-1810> (accessed August 16, 2012).

member of Brooklyn Presbytery.<sup>223</sup> The last reference to Campbell in presbytery records in 1919 notes that his address “was not known” and that he had been placed on an inactive roll.<sup>224</sup>

I have not been able to verify the date of Campbell’s death, but it was prior to the enumeration of the federal census in early January 1920, likely in 1918 or 1919. In the 1920 census Agnes Campbell is identified as a widow employed as a secretary in the Presbyterian office in Washington, D.C.<sup>225</sup> Agnes died in 1943, and her namesake daughter Agnes Horn Campbell, who never married, died in 1975, but I failed to find an obituary for William R. Campbell in newspapers or a mention of his passing in official denominational records. According to the present pastor of the church in Orangeville, Pennsylvania, who visited the local cemetery, there are tombstones for Agnes, Agnes Horn Campbell, and other Campbell family members, but none for William R. Campbell. It is ironic that a man who emphasized the importance of publicity during his lifetime had gone from being known as “about the worst man in Utah” to being the missing man in Brooklyn.

Ostensibly the anti-Roberts crusade focused on his status as a polygamist, new plural marriages among the leaders and wider membership of Utah Mormons, and the ongoing cohabitation of polygamous couples formed before 1890. In reality, however, it was much more than those issues. It was a declaration of war on the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Campbell and many of his ministerial cohorts along with large numbers of American citizens were committed to the extinction of Mormonism. As one Presbyterian minister expressed it, “An urgent effort should be made to stamp out Mormonism, the principles of which are a disgrace to civilization and Christianity.”<sup>226</sup> Rhetoric of that nature abounded in the popular press and was propounded from pulpits in all too many Protestant congregations.

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<sup>223</sup>Brooklyn Presbytery, Minutes, April 28, 1913. In order for a Presbyterian minister to be dismissed to another presbytery or denomination, that entity had to present an official request to the presbytery indicating that it was prepared to accept the minister. Letters of dismissal were never given to individuals, only to the receiving agency.

<sup>224</sup>Brooklyn Presbytery, Minutes, January 27, 1919.

<sup>225</sup>U.S. Census, 1920, Washington, D.C., Roll 7625, 208, p. 11A; enumeration district 129, image 322.

<sup>226</sup>“Our National Perils,” *New York Tribune*, January 30, 1899, 4. To



Throughout history, new religious movements, especially those advocating practices and beliefs running counter to prevailing cultural norms, have been characterized as heretical, immoral, subversive, manipulative, and even satanic sects or cults. It is well to remember that William R. Campbell was no uneducated crank operating on the fringes of mainstream society. Rather he was a devout, thoughtful, articulate, and highly regarded Christian clergyman in denominational circles, and his primary support came from educated and respectable upper-middle-class Protestant men and women.

While it would be an overstatement to assert that Campbell was the only key player in the anti-Roberts crusade, without question his dogged determination, sharp tongue, keen pen, and astute organizational skills were definitely influential in rousing public opinion against the Utah representative-elect. In particular, his sure-handed management of denominational churchwomen, behind-the-scenes lobbying of congressmen, surreptitious support of rounding up alleged polygamists, and effective enlistment of the popular press generated a remarkable cohesiveness to the national campaign. Despite the formalities of his congressional trial, Roberts had already been convicted in the court of public opinion.

In closing, I offer a few of the questions that have emerged as a result of my research. Would the outcome have been any different even if Campbell and his cohorts had not been so aggressive in opposing Roberts? Would it have been better for the Latter-day Saints if Roberts had opted not to run for office in 1898 and if a less contentious candidate had been elected to serve in Congress? What if Mormon authorities had not been disingenuous regarding the existence of new polygamous relationships and acknowledged instead that, though slow and imperfect, progress was being made in ending a practice that was deeply rooted in Mormon theology? Did the crusade against Roberts, in the long run, turn legislators against subsequent efforts to apply wider constitutional proscriptions against Mormon candidates for federal offices? Answers to these and other questions remain subjects of study and inquiry.

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Latter-day Saints, the goal of Roberts's opponents was: "Its ostensible object was the exclusion from Congress of the gentleman elected to that position by a large majority of the people of the State. Its real purpose to use the language of a number of its promoters was 'the crushing out of Mormonism.'" "The Storm at Its Hight [sic]," *Deseret Evening News*, December 4, 1899, 4.

# AKIMEL AU-AUTHM, XALYCHIDOM PIIPAASH, AND THE LDS PAPAGO WARD

*D. L. Turner*

THE CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST of Latter-day Saints (LDS) has historically followed the Catholic Church as the second largest religious denomination to actively proselytize Native Americans in Arizona. Preaching a message that promised Native Americans an illustrious future as a chosen people and presenting the Book of Mormon as a history of their forefathers, this new faith was embraced by some Native Americans and rejected by others. The earliest converts in central Arizona are those found among the *Akimel Au-Authm* (Pima, or “River people”) and the *Xalychidom Piipaash* (Maricopa, or “People who live towards the water”).<sup>1</sup> Here, a nucleus of early converts formed the Papago Ward, a unit that is unique in the history of the LDS Church. Steeped in ancient Hohokam influences, it represents the attempt of two vastly different nineteenth-century cultures to reach equilibrium as one flock—one whose joint labors helped form what is today the oldest continuing LDS Native American institution of its kind.

Members of the LDS Church, as part of the Mormon Battalion, and the Pima and Maricopa tribes first met in December of 1846. At that time, the Native Americans befriended the beleaguered soldiers

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<sup>1</sup>Salt River Pima-Maricopa Indian Community, “History and Culture.” [http://www.srpmic-nsn.gov/history\\_culture](http://www.srpmic-nsn.gov/history_culture) (accessed July 17, 2012).

by providing them with much-needed food and water. According to Private Henry Bigler, these supplies included “large quantities of corn and corn meal, wheat, and flour, also beans and squashes.”<sup>2</sup> Battalion members also admired many of the personal attributes of their new friends including their industriousness and honesty.<sup>3</sup> Sergeant Daniel Tyler wrote that his first encounter with the tribe occurred when 1,500–2,000 Pima visited the federal soldiers at their camp near the Gila River. He recalled: “Although all our property was exposed in such a manner that many articles might have been easily stolen, not a thing was molested by them.”<sup>4</sup> As peace-loving peoples, both groups also promoted family-centered, self-sufficient, agrarian lifestyles.<sup>5</sup> Impressed by their surroundings, leading officers discussed the possibility of future LDS colonization in the area.<sup>6</sup>

A second meeting occurred in 1875. At that time, LDS missionaries traveling to Mexico visited the Pima Indian Agency on the Gila River long enough to proselytize. Leading the missionaries was colorful frontier personality Daniel Webster Jones. Over the years, Jones, then age forty-five, had proven himself a capable leader. A veteran of the Mexican War, Jones remained in Mexico following the end of hostilities long enough to learn Spanish fluently. Leaving Mexico, Jones traveled through Utah and was baptized on January 27, 1851. He then helped to rescue stranded handcart companies during the winter of 1856–57. Jones also served a successful mission to Mexico as part of the first LDS missionary expedition to that country.<sup>7</sup> In preparation for that mission, Jones co-translated the first selections of the Book of

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<sup>2</sup>Henry Standage and Frank Alfred Golder, *The March of the Mormon Battalion from Council Bluffs to California: Taken from the Journals of Henry Standage* (New York: Century Company, 1928), 198–99; Sherman L. Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain: A Military History of the Mormon Battalion* (Spokane, Wash.: Arthur H. Clark Company, 2006), 295.

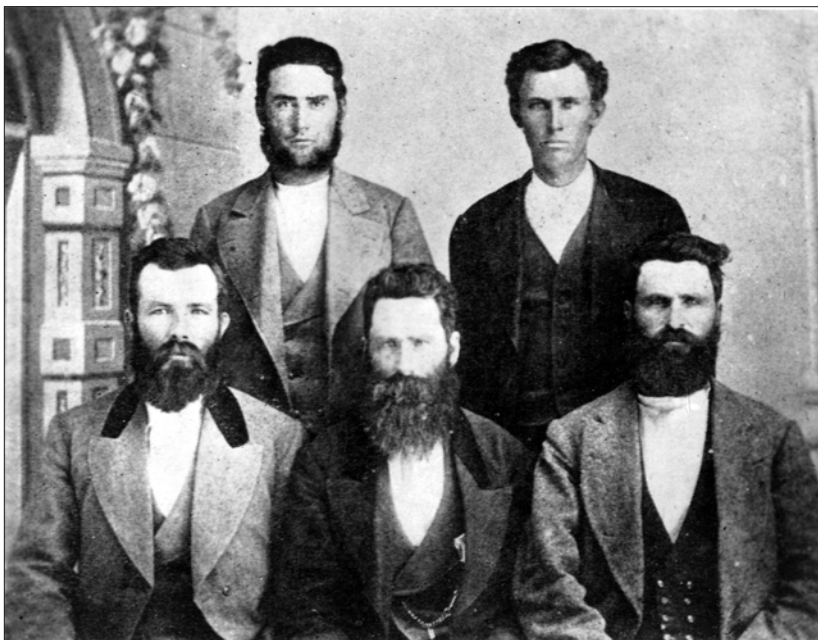
<sup>3</sup>Fleek, *History May Be Searched in Vain*, 296.

<sup>4</sup>Daniel Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion in the Mexican War, 1846–1847* (Salt Lake City: n.pub., 1881), 233.

<sup>5</sup>Paul H. Ezell and Bernard L. Fontana, “Plants without Water: The Pima-Maricopa Experience,” *Journal of the Southwest* 36, no. 4 (Winter 1994): 328.

<sup>6</sup>Tyler, *A Concise History of the Mormon Battalion*, 236.

<sup>7</sup>Daniel Webster Jones, *Forty Years among the Indians* (Salt Lake City:



*The first expedition into Mexico. Standing left: Wiley C. Jones and Anthony W. Ivins. Seated left: Helaman Pratt, Daniel W. Jones, and James Z. Stewart. Courtesy Utah State Historical Society.*

Mormon into Spanish with Mileton G. Trejo. He also raised the necessary funds for their publication and later distribution.<sup>8</sup>

In the fall of 1875, Dan Jones, son Wiley C., James Z. Stewart, Helaman Pratt, R. H. Smith, Ammon M. Tenney, and Anthony W. Ivins prepared to travel to Mexico by way of Arizona. Crossing at Lee's Ferry, the group reached the Moquis villages around September 10. Pushing on to central Arizona, the group arranged to preach to a gathering of Pima and Maricopa Indians living along the Gila River.<sup>9</sup> Jones recorded that a good spirit prevailed with a desire to learn more and that "many of the older Indians on the Gila, remem-

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Juvenile Instructor Office, 1890), 233.

<sup>8</sup>Jack McAllister, "The Unlikely Daniel Webster Jones: First Spanish Translations from the Book of Mormon," *Ensign*, August 1981, 230.

<sup>9</sup>Jones, *Forty Years*, 244, also, W. Earl Merrill, *One Hundred Steps down*

bered the Mormon Battalion when they passed through in 1846.”<sup>10</sup> Upon their departure, Jones promised that the Mormons would return at some point in the future and that some would take up residency among them.<sup>11</sup>

In January of 1876, the Jones expedition became the first group of Mormon missionaries to enter Mexico. By July 1 of that same year and his return home, Jones had traveled nearly four thousand miles.<sup>12</sup> In August, he received yet another call from Brigham Young—this time to return to Arizona as the head of a colonizing-missionary venture. During the Church’s semi-annual general conference in October of 1876, thirteen families heard their names called from the pulpit to join Jones and serve in what was then referred to as the Southern Arizona Mission. According to Jones, Brigham Young instructed the settlers to “go into the southern country and settle where we felt impressed to stop. The intention was to go on to Mexico eventually.”<sup>13</sup> Their mission had three goals: (1) to organize a United Order community, an LDS form of cooperative living that stressed pooled resources and labor, (2) to push as far south as possible toward Yaqui country (southern Arizona and northern Mexico), and (3) to preach to the “Lamanites” in Arizona and Mexico.<sup>14</sup>

The pioneers organized in St. George, Utah, in January of 1877 and reached the Salt River Valley that March, trail-weary and depleted.<sup>15</sup> With livestock suffering from the effects of deprivation, the prospects of continuing further south appeared dubious. For this reason, the group elected to establish a camp and build an irrigation ditch near what is today a subdivision of Mesa known as Lehi—a settlement also known during its formative years as Camp Utah, Utahville, and Jonesville. This became the first permanent LDS settlement

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*Mesa’s Past* (Mesa, Ariz.: Lofgreen Printing, 1970), 46.

<sup>10</sup>Jones, *Forty Years among the Indians*, 249.

<sup>11</sup>*Ibid.*, 248.

<sup>12</sup>*Ibid.*, 301, 304.

<sup>13</sup>*Ibid.*, 308.

<sup>14</sup>George S. Tanner and J. Morris Richards, *Colonization on the Little Colorado: The Joseph City Region* (Flagstaff, Ariz.: Northland Press, 1977), 51; also Jones, *Forty Years among the Indians*, 312.

<sup>15</sup>*Our Town: The Story of Mesa, Arizona, 1878–1991* (Mesa, Ariz: Mesa Public Schools, Pioneer Edition, 1991), 11.

south of the Little Colorado. The tiny settlement also opened the door for future Mormon migration into the region and laid the groundwork for the establishment of the Papago Ward.<sup>16</sup>

As the LDS pioneers surveyed their surroundings, the numerous abandoned Hohokam canals, settlement ruins, and shards of broken pottery in the region impressed the new arrivals.<sup>17</sup> These artifacts convinced the settlers that Book of Mormon peoples had once inhabited the area. Henry C. Rogers, a forty-four-year-old wheelwright, cabinet maker, and former police officer from Provo, Utah, wrote to his mother on March 26, 1877: "We all feel that we are on the ground which was occupied by some of the ancient Nephites, in their most prosperous days."<sup>18</sup>

Development of the colony followed typical LDS settlement patterns. A committee formed on the afternoon of their arrival to investigate the Salt River and began work that same day on what is today known as the Utah Ditch. The new arrivals attracted the attention of Pima and Maricopas in the area. Non-Mormon white settlers in Tempe, then known as Hayden's Ferry, hoped that the Native Americans would act as a buffer against the Apache and had invited some families to farm along the river.<sup>19</sup> Other Pima and Maricopa had left their reservation along the Gila River during the preceding years in search of water due to an extended drought and Anglo encroachment on water resources upstream.<sup>20</sup> Offering to lend the LDS settlers wheat and seed corn, a number of Native Americans also attended the Mormons' religious meetings.<sup>21</sup> Among the first to visit the camp to inquire about their religion was a band of Maricopa under the leadership of Chief Malia. Later others, including a number of other Native Americans from various tribes, also sought

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<sup>16</sup>Jared Smith, *Making Water Flow Uphill: The History of Agriculture in Mesa, Arizona* (Mesa, Ariz.: Mesa Historical Society, 2004), 39.

<sup>17</sup>*Ibid.*, 14.

<sup>18</sup>Henry C. Rogers, quoted in "Mission News," *Millennial Star* 39 (May 7, 1877): 303.

<sup>19</sup>Merrill, *One Hundred Steps down Mesa's Past*, 223.

<sup>20</sup>David H. DeJong, "See the New Country': The Removal Controversy and Pima-Maricopa Water Rights, 1869–1879," *The Journal of Arizona History* 33 (Winter 1992): 372.

<sup>21</sup>*Our Town*, 24.





*The Utah Ditch, constructed in 1877, as it looks today near present-day Lehi. It is still in use, feeding several laterals. Photo September 20, 2012, by D. L. Turner.*

employment as laborers on the ditch.<sup>22</sup>

Around the time of the arrival of the Mormons in the Salt River Valley, Jones received instructions from Brigham Young to “do your utmost by precept and example to win the hearts of the Lamanites, and ever use the influence you acquire over them for good, for their salvation and education in the arts of peace and industry.”<sup>23</sup> Because Jones found the Native Americans to be the most interesting aspect of the mission, he allowed them every courtesy possible and did not miss an opportunity to fulfill his missionary mandate. Since no one else spoke Spanish and the natives spoke little English, Jones did most of the missionary work for the group. Some of the natives were conversant in Spanish, however, and could translate for the others.<sup>24</sup>

A little over ten weeks after their arrival, Jones found success as a missionary among the Pima and Maricopa. Events leading up to these first baptisms, however, proved the need for effective communication and reliable translators. An unnamed interpreter unexpectedly brought word to Jones that leading Pima elders living along the Salt River wished to be baptized. Puzzled at this request, Jones refused, as the Native Americans had not properly been taught the gospel; constructing the ditch had prevented him from presenting Mormonism’s basic principles to the prospective converts. A few days later, the same interpreter found Jones at work and once again informed him that a large number of Native Americans were ready and waiting at his camp to be baptized. Jones recorded:

On arriving at camp there were Indians in every place and direction: there were between three and four hundred, all looking pleasant and smiling. The chiefs were grouped, sitting quietly and separately.

I commenced to talk to and question them, repeating what I had formerly said and added more, and in every way endeavored to fasten upon their minds the responsibility of being baptized. I really desired to deter them, if possible, for I had no faith in the reality of the situation. But my interpreter, who talked at length to them, professing to ex-

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<sup>22</sup>Jones, *Forty Years among the Indians*, 318–19.

<sup>23</sup>Brigham Young, quoted in *ibid.*, 312.

<sup>24</sup>Minnie Cook, *Apostle to the Pima Indians: The Story of Charles H. Cook, The First Missionary to the Pimas* (Tiburon, Calif.: Omega Books, 1976), 127; Merrill, *One Hundred Steps down Mesa’s Past*, 49.

plain all my words, insisted that they fully understood and wanted to be baptized—the whole tribe included.<sup>25</sup>

Despite Jones's attempts to convey the seriousness of these requests through the interpreter, the Native Americans persisted, stating that they fully grasped the significance of the ordinance and were prepared to convert. Suspecting a miscommunication, Jones conversed in Spanish with Huilkil, a sub-chief from the Gila River reservation, and learned that the interpreter had informed Chief Chue-uch-kum and the others that the Mormons would provide new shirts and land to all those who agreed to be baptized. Now communicating through Huilkil, Jones clarified the situation to the gathering. Despite this misunderstanding, Jones records that the Pima chief, Chue-uch-kum, still desired baptism, declaring: "[I] will listen to your talk, for I believe it is good. I will seek to be a better man and try to learn more about God. Now here are three of us who are willing to do this. . . . We do not want any shirts; we will then try to learn and teach your words to our people and when they are ready we will tell you and you can baptize them."<sup>26</sup> Jones was relieved at this declaration and on Sunday, May 20, he baptized Chue-uch-kum, age forty-five (also Chin-rich-kim and Che-uh-kim), George R. Hoornarz, age unknown, and two thirty-five-year-olds: William Scorats and Chi-ra-quis.<sup>27</sup>

A short time later, a few Indian families requested permission to receive land and water to farm for the season in exchange for labor. Jones readily agreed to this proposition without consulting his fellow pioneers, a move that struck some of the others as autocratic and objectionable. While converting the Lamanites was a primary goal for the Mormons, Brigham Young's Indian policy also dictated that settlers maintain a certain distance from neighboring Native Americans for safety's sake. In the end, Jones's methods of leadership and his decision to allow the Native Americans to live in such close proximity caused so much contention that, in August, a majority of the families reorganized into a new company and moved to the San Pedro River

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<sup>25</sup>Jones, *Forty Years among the Indians*, 316.

<sup>26</sup>Merrill, *One Hundred Steps down Mesa's Past*, 50–51.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*, 49. "Chue-uch-kum" also appears on the records as Chin-rich-kim and Che-uh-kim; "Hoornarz" is sometimes spelled "Hoormooz," Scorats is sometimes called "Loorah," and "Chi-ra-quis" is sometimes recorded as "Chiraquia."



*The extended family of Incarnacion Valenzuela (center), early convert and part Papago. The name, Papago Ward, honors his heritage. Brother Valenzuela served as an interpreter, a member of the Papago Ward bishopric, a stake high councilor, and a missionary. Photo, ca. 1912, courtesy LDS Church History Library.*

where they established the town of St. David. Only the families of Daniel Jones, Henry C. Rogers, Ross R. Rogers, Thomas Biggs, and Isaac Turley remained at Lehi.<sup>28</sup>

In need of additional assistance to complete the ditch and plant sufficient crops, Jones and Rogers traveled to the Gila Agency and invited several of the leading Native American families there to move to the Salt River Valley to farm. Jones's son, Daniel P., recalled, "My father was strong for the Indians and wanted some of them to farm the land north and east. A few [already] lived on the north side of the

<sup>28</sup>*Our Town*, 15.

river. They had been invited to settle there by the Tempe people as a protection from the Apaches who had been on the warpath for a great number of years and were still bad.”<sup>29</sup>

Among the first of these Indian families to settle among the Mormons were those of Francisco Checoard Usavio, chief of the Pimas, and Moliah, chief of the Maricopa. Also accepting the invitation was the family of Incarnacion Valenzuela, a multilingual man of Papago and Castilian extraction. Frequently described by others as “highly intelligent,” Valenzuela was fluent in Papago, Pima, Maricopa, and Spanish, and had a working knowledge of English, though Valenzuela preferred not to speak it.<sup>30</sup> This skill made him invaluable as an interpreter to the community. In all, approximately thirty families joined the Mormons on the Salt River. Separating themselves from the Native Americans who had already settled on the north side of the Salt River, those invited by Jones and Rogers settled on the south side, with Maricopas taking up farms on the eastern portion of the land and Pima on the west. All then accessed water from the Utah Ditch.<sup>31</sup>

Though membership in the Church was not a requirement to settle in Lehi, Jones invited only those whom he considered the “best” men, meaning those who agreed to observe “good order” by living honest and sober lives. These standards included abstaining from stealing, gambling, and drunkenness, and encouraging the education of their children. Families willing to abide by these qualifications received two hundred acres to farm and became self-sustaining within a short amount of time.<sup>32</sup>

Initially John A. Stout, the federal Indian agent, viewed the Mor-

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<sup>29</sup>Daniel P. Jones, *Autobiography* (N.p.: n.pub., n.d.), 17; copy in my possession.

<sup>30</sup>Thora Rogers Harmon, “Henry Clay Rogers,” in Eva Mae Hahn, *Rogers Family Biographical Materials*, (n.d.) MS 12037, LDS Church History Library.

<sup>31</sup>W. Earl Merrill, *One Hundred Echoes from Mesa’s Past: Book Three of a Series* (Mesa, Ariz.: Merrill, 1975), 214.

<sup>32</sup>David Grant Skinner and Bernice Skinner, *The River People in the Desert: A Story of the Pima and Maricopa Indians as Related to the Salt River Reservation* (N.p.: n.pub., 1982), 48; Merrill, *One Hundred Echoes from Mesa’s Past*, 215.

mons' influence on the Pima and Maricopa as positive, especially given the deplorable conditions on the Pima reservation.<sup>33</sup> In writing to Ezra A. Hayt, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, Stout stated:

A great many are now absent from the reserve, principally gathering mesquite beans. Those away are mostly above, on the Gila and in the vicinity of Salt River Valley. As yet I hear of but little complaint on account of the Indians being off the reserve, though at this time of year they are more unruly and troublesome than later in the season, as they are enabled to exchange their wheat for whisky. One portion of the community, and among these are the Mormon settlers, advise and encourage them to settle among them, particularly in the Salt River Valley, promising them much good, while another portion are anxious to have them driven off and confined to the reserve. While there are lands unoccupied by whites, with water facilities, or where they can work for others, and thus benefit themselves during a season of drought like the present, it seems but an act of humanity to allow them to remain.<sup>34</sup>

A new wave of about eighty-five LDS immigrants arrived from Utah and Idaho in January of 1878 to settle the future city of Mesa. This increase in numbers prompted a reorganization of the settlement groups. Jones was relieved of his ecclesiastical responsibilities over the Lehi pioneers but was left in charge of the Native Americans.<sup>35</sup> Now focused solely on the welfare of his converts, Jones became concerned over the increasing incidents of claim-jumping by non-LDS settlers from Phoenix and Tempe. Some of these newcomers attempted to survey and file claims on lands already being worked by Native Americans.<sup>36</sup> Water use also became a point of contention. Though Jones named no one specifically in his memoir, he wrote that, at times, even some of the original share owners of the Utah Ditch turned on him as various parties bickered over the Native

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<sup>33</sup>Harmon, "Henry Clay Rogers"; Merrill, *One Hundred Echoes from Mesa's Past*, 215.

<sup>34</sup>J. A. Stout, Letter to E. A. Hayt, *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs to the Secretary of the Interior for the Year 1877* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1877), 32.

<sup>35</sup>Jones, *Autobiography*, 21; Jones, *Forty Years among the Indians*, 339.

<sup>36</sup>Jones, *Forty Years among the Indians*, 335; Merrill, *One Hundred Steps down Mesa's Past*, 222.



Americans' use of irrigation water.<sup>37</sup> At other times, neighbors of the Indians accused Jones of harboring those who damaged crops and stole livestock.<sup>38</sup> Dejected, Jones felt that only his family stood behind him during these difficult times.<sup>39</sup>

Hoping to protect the farmlands of the Pima and Maricopa, Jones advocated for the protection of Native American lands along the Salt River to Major Adna Chaffee, the newly appointed commander at Fort McDowell.<sup>40</sup> While some government leaders, including Ezra Hayt, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, advocated relocating the Pima and Maricopa to the Indian Territory or another reservation, Chaffee held strong sympathies for the plight of the Native Americans.<sup>41</sup> This led him to push for the establishment of a reservation. Following an investigation by Indian Affairs, officials agreed to create a reserve on the Salt River.<sup>42</sup> By executive order, on January 10, 1879, President Rutherford B. Hayes extended Indian lands outside the Gila River reservation to the Salt River Reservation. At first, the mandate encompassed the entire Salt River Valley; but white settlers raised a firestorm of protest, and the size of the reservation was greatly reduced.<sup>43</sup>

With land questions now settled, Church affairs within the Lehi settlement expanded due to Jones and Rogers's missionary efforts. Native Americans associated with the LDS Church were commonly referred to as "Jones's Indians" during this period. On December 10, 1882, the Maricopa Stake was organized as the Church's twenty-fourth.<sup>44</sup> Though accounts vary, Papago Ward historians Grant and Bernice Skinner state that, at that time, the stake consisted of two

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<sup>37</sup>Jones, *Forty Years among the Indians*, 334.

<sup>38</sup>*Our Town*, 27.

<sup>39</sup>Jones, *Forty Years among the Indians*, 338.

<sup>40</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>41</sup>DeJong, "See the New Country," 384–85.

<sup>42</sup>James H. McClintock, *Arizona: Prehistoric, Aboriginal, Pioneer, Modern*, 2 vols. (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing, 1916), 455.

<sup>43</sup>*Arizona Sentinel*, January 18, 1879, 2; *Our Town*, 27.

<sup>44</sup>Wanda LeBaron, *History of the Mesa Arizona Maricopa Stake of Zion, 1882–1982*, commemorative pamphlet (Mesa, Ariz.: n.pub., 1982), 1.

wards, a branch, the Indian organization and an Indian mission.<sup>45</sup> Other sources indicate that it was during the following month, on January 7, 1883, that the Indian Mission was organized. Despite confusion over the official date of this establishment, the institution addressed the needs of Native Americans in Lehi as well as those of over 600 Tohono O'odham converts in southern Arizona. Conversions among the Lamanites took place rapidly with as many as thirty baptisms in some months. While records are sparse, several sources indicate that, by December of 1883, the Papago Ward had been organized with missionary Arza E. Hinckley as its first bishop. Though Dan Jones had by now moved on to farm in the Tonto Basin area in central Arizona, serving with Hinckley as counselors in the bishopric were Jones's son, Daniel P., and David Savage.<sup>46</sup>

Initial missionary efforts proved extraordinarily fruitful in the Papago Ward. Some records indicate that more than 1,200 Native American baptisms had taken place by 1890. This success appears to have been short-lived, however; numbers dropped, then stabilized at 200-400 over the course of the twentieth century.<sup>47</sup>

The name "Papago" for the unit was intended to honor Incarnacion Valenzuela, who was half Papago or Tohono O'odham. As a dedicated convert, Valenzuela served the LDS community as an interpreter, a member of the bishopric, a high councilor, and a missionary.<sup>48</sup> Because most ward members were Maricopa or Pima, however, the name, even today, understandably creates some confusion regarding the congregation's tribal makeup.<sup>49</sup>

Differences in culture provided a number of obstacles for the LDS congregation to overcome in attaining common ground despite

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<sup>45</sup>Skinner and Skinner, *The River People in the Desert*, 76.

<sup>46</sup>Jones, *Autobiography*, 27, also W. Earl Merrill, *One Hundred Footprints on Forgotten Trails: Book Four of a Series* (Mesa, Ariz.: Merrill, 1977), 240.

<sup>47</sup>Chad R. Willis, *Early Mesa Outpost in Babylon* (M.A. thesis, Arizona State University, August 2001), 65; "Indians Receive Baptism," *Arizona Republican*, August 25, 1908, 8.

<sup>48</sup>"Mesa, Arizona," *Deseret Evening News*, July 25, 1906, 3; Skinner and Skinner, *The River People in the Desert*, 76.

<sup>49</sup>Henry A. Smith, "Papago Indians Maintain Separate Ward," *Deseret News*, June 3, 1949, 14C.

rapid conversion rates. One early stumbling block was Jones's effort to prohibit the execution of those accused of being witches.<sup>50</sup> Believing that sickness and misfortune were caused by witchcraft, Native American culture dictated that the offending or suspected witch must be killed to bring a return to normalcy. Preaching against this belief placed Jones in harm's way until local leaders and medicine men could be persuaded to discontinue the practice.<sup>51</sup>

Also inhibiting the ward's ability to function were government raids against polygamists. Due to increasing pressure on the federal level, for instance, Bishop Charles S. Peterson, Hinckley's successor, went underground to evade arrest. Alexander Findlay MacDonald, president of Maricopa Stake, and other community leaders in Mesa also went into hiding due to the passage of anti-polygamy legislation such as the Edmunds-Tucker Act (1887).<sup>52</sup>

Competing Christian denominations also expressed fears that the Mormons were encouraging polygamy among Native Americans along the Salt River. Reverend Charles H. Cook, a teacher on the Pima Reservation and a Presbyterian minister, promoted increased missionary work to counter this evil.<sup>53</sup> Advertisements and editorials in Protestant publications called for an increase in numbers of missionary women willing to target the Indians, Mexicans, and Mormons living in the Southwest. One warning read: "The Mormons are making some inroads on a part of this tribe. They say they do not teach polygamy, but one thing is certain, the Indians under their care are learning to practice it, and there are a few who say they have been taught it by these Mormon elders. The elders reply that the Indians must have misunderstood them. 'Judge ye.'"<sup>54</sup>

Although the Pimas historically permitted polygyny, it was not a

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<sup>50</sup>Jones, *Forty Years among the Indians*, 322.

<sup>51</sup>Skinner and Skinner, *The River People in the Desert*, 75.

<sup>52</sup>W. Earl Merrill, *One Hundred Yesterdays: Book Two of a Series* (Mesa, Ariz.: Lofgreen Printing, 1972), 68.

<sup>53</sup>Rev. T. C. Kirkwood, "Arizona: A Visit to the Pima—Work of Rev. C. H. Cook," *The Church at Home and Abroad* 4 (July 1888): 52.

<sup>54</sup>Kirkwood, "Arizona: A Visit to the Pima," 53. For examples of similar appeals, see *Among the Pimas, or, The Mission to the Pima and Maricopa Indians* (Albany, N.Y.: Ladies' Union Mission School Association, 1893), 40, see also advertisement, *Home Mission Monthly* 2, no. 2 (December 1887): 25.

common practice prior to the arrival of the Mormons. Anthropologist Paul Ezell writes that Pima families were patrilineal consisting of a “married couple, their sons, and unmarried daughters.”<sup>55</sup> This family configuration also seems characteristic of Papago Ward families.

Language differences also created cultural barriers. Because many ward members continued to speak their native languages, worship services relied heavily on interpreters, essentially doubling the time required for each sermon.<sup>56</sup> Few male converts could read or write, making it difficult to fill clerical positions on the ward level—offices traditionally held by male priesthood holders. In this case, Anglo women, typically a member of the bishop’s family, frequently held those positions well into the twentieth century.<sup>57</sup>

Aside from cultural barriers, one physical barrier to be overcome by the Lehi Saints was the Salt River. Attending meetings in Lehi meant an all-day excursion for many early Native American converts. Traveling on foot and by wagon, those living across the river found the trip particularly perilous when water levels were high. In 1891, for instance, a record-breaking flood washed out the railroad bridge at Tempe, cut off communication with Phoenix, and melted a number of adobe buildings during the torrential downpour. In Lehi, five Native Americans were drowned, and many were left homeless. During this disaster, members assisted each other with many reservation residents taking refuge in Mesa until the flood abated.<sup>58</sup>

A Relief Society was established in the ward in January 1888. Most Papago sisters faced greater obstacles in participating in Relief Society programs than their Anglo counterparts. Papago Ward Relief Society members faced a lack of transportation, harsh summer weather conditions, and the demands of long working hours during harvest. These challenges, however, did not deter efforts by Relief Soci-

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<sup>55</sup>Paul H. Ezell, “The Hispanic Acculturation of the Gila River Pimas,” *American Anthropological Association* 63, no. 5, pt. 2 (October 1961): 99, 132.

<sup>56</sup>Heber Charles Hicks, “Autobiography,” 98, 1963, MS 5252, LDS Church History Library; Thaddeus H. Cluff and J. M. Dalton, “My M.I.A. Mission to Arizona,” *The Contributor* 14, no. 10 (August 1893): 483.

<sup>57</sup>Papago Ward, Maricopa Stake, Manuscript History and Historical Reports, 1877-1983, LR 6723 2, LDS Church History Library.

<sup>58</sup>“Floods in Arizona,” *Washington Post*, February 24, 1891, 7; “At Lehi,” *Arizona Republican*, February 28, 1891, 1; *Our Town*, 16.



*An early photo of the first Papago Ward meetinghouse, with a young orchard in the foreground. Photo courtesy LDS Church History Library.*

ety sisters who sewed clothing for school children, cared for the sick, produced quilts for the needy, and canned surplus produce for welfare projects. Relief Society members also helped to prepare the dead for burial, while a women's choir, the "Singing Mothers," provided music for funerals. In 1955, women also arranged to make pies, cookies, and cakes for state hospital inmates as part of their Christmas celebration and sold tamales, cold drinks, cakes, pies, and sandwiches to finance Relief Society projects. Thus, the women of Papago Ward made the gospel ideal of service an effective part of their lives, fitting it into their own unique heritage and environment.<sup>59</sup>

Other segments of the ward community actively supported Church aims and goals as well. Youth members helped to secure a piano for their ward building in 1921 by hosting an event that included carnival booths, a field meet, and boxing matches.<sup>60</sup> Additionally, ward members erected an 18 x 30 foot adobe school and meetinghouse on the corner of a school section one mile north of the Lehi Ward meetinghouse. Spiritual and secular education had begun earlier with the first LDS day school holding class in a bowery. Lessons included reading, writing, arithmetic, and music. This last subject proved popular among the students, many of whom exhibited a great deal of interest and talent. By the next generation, the Papago Ward had its own choir. During its golden years, this institution featured approximately thirty-five members. It also attracted widespread attention within Arizona and Utah by performing at a variety of public gatherings including Church-related or public events such as Prescott's Frontier Day celebration and in local choir contests.<sup>61</sup>

As membership numbers grew, Anglo and Native American congregations in central Arizona experienced periodic difficulty in attaining complete racial harmony. Assistant Church historian Andrew Jensen described an idyllic coexistence between the races during an 1894 visit to Arizona: "The Indians farm and raise stock; some

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<sup>59</sup>Richard L. Jensen, "Unique Tradition," *Deseret News*, May 14, 1977, 29.

<sup>60</sup>"Boxing and Field Meet at the Lehi School of Friday," *Arizona Republican*, February 2, 1921, 2.

<sup>61</sup>"Conference of Maricopa State to Open Today," *Arizona Republican*, November 26, 1921, 9; Evan Tye Peterson, *The Ninth Temple: A Light in the Desert* (Orem, Utah: Granite Publishing, 2006), 57; Hicks, "Autobiography," 104.



of them live in pretty good houses, and are learning many of the more civilized habits and ways of their white Mormon neighbors who have been their friends from the beginning.”<sup>62</sup> However, when the Maricopa Stake grew large enough for the Phoenix Stake to be split off in 1938, the majority of active members of the Papago Ward requested that their unit be included as part of the Phoenix Stake, despite a closer proximity to leadership in the Maricopa Stake.<sup>63</sup> When asked for the reason, one ward member remarked, “If we are added to the Phoenix Stake, we might be somebody. But in the Maricopa Stake, we’re just another Indian.” Church leaders complied with this request and at the same time, instigated a policy of greater inclusion and ward visits for the Papago Ward. In 1941, the Papago Ward was returned to the Maricopa Stake under the administration of Lorenzo Wright.<sup>64</sup>

A significant event related to the status of Lamanites as a chosen people in Mormon doctrine occurred on October 3, 1919, when the First Presidency announced plans to build a temple on twenty acres of land just east of the original town site of Mesa. This prospect pleased devout members of the Papago Ward who, like other members in Arizona, had had to make the arduous trek to the temple in St. George, Utah. Travel was made more difficult when the Salt or Colorado rivers were running high. During one temple excursion led by Henry C. Rogers, Papago Ward members were ferried across at the old Mesa heading on a flatboat and brought down the river to the McDowell ford. Travelers were once again faced with a dangerous crossing once they reached the Little Colorado.<sup>65</sup>

Papago Ward members made fund-raising pledges toward the temple’s construction. Edwin C. Santeo, who was in charge of the project for the Papago Ward, spoke during the groundbreaking cere-

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<sup>62</sup>James H. McClintock, *Mormon Settlement in Arizona: A Record of Peaceful Conquest in the Desert* (Phoenix, Ariz.: Manufacturing Stationers, 1921), 208; also Andrew Jenson, “Through Arizona,” *Deseret Weekly News*, July 7, 1894, 89.

<sup>63</sup>D. L. Turner and Catherine H. Ellis, *Latter-Day Saints in Mesa* (Arcadia Publishing, 2009), 63.

<sup>64</sup>Hicks, “Autobiography,” 107.

<sup>65</sup>Harmon, “Henry Clay Rogers”; “Southside News,” *Arizona Republican*, June 13, 1919, 9; Peterson, *The Ninth Temple*, 88.

mony.<sup>66</sup> Many of the design elements of the edifice reflected Native American designs and motifs. These included murals, interior decorations, friezes around the top of the temple, and various landscaping features. On October 23, 1927, the Papago Ward choir performed during the building's dedicatory services.<sup>67</sup> LDS Church President Heber J. Grant then made special mention of the Lamanites during the dedicatory prayer, stating:

We beseech Thee, O Lord, that Thou wilt stay the hand of the destroyer among the descendants of Lehi, who reside in this land, and give unto them increasing virility and more abundant health, that they not perish as a people, but from this time forth they may increase in numbers and in strength and in influence that all the glorious promises made concerning the descendants of Lehi may be fulfilled in them; that they may grow in body and in vigor of body and mind, and above all in love for Thee and Thy Son, and increase in diligence and faithfulness in keeping the commandments that have come to them through the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and that many of them may have the privilege of entering this Holy House and receiving ordinances for themselves and their departed ancestors.<sup>68</sup>

This temple was later the first to feature endowments in Spanish—also the first instance of sessions being performed in any language other than English. The temple also hosted special “Lamanite” conferences for Spanish speakers from the United States and Mexico. On these occasions, members often traveled hundreds of miles as part of temple excursions between 1945 and 1967. At times as many as three hundred travelers attended these events.<sup>69</sup> During this period, the Papago Ward also launched a genealogy class designed specifically for Native Americans to conduct Native American research on Friday, November 15, 1949, reportedly the first class

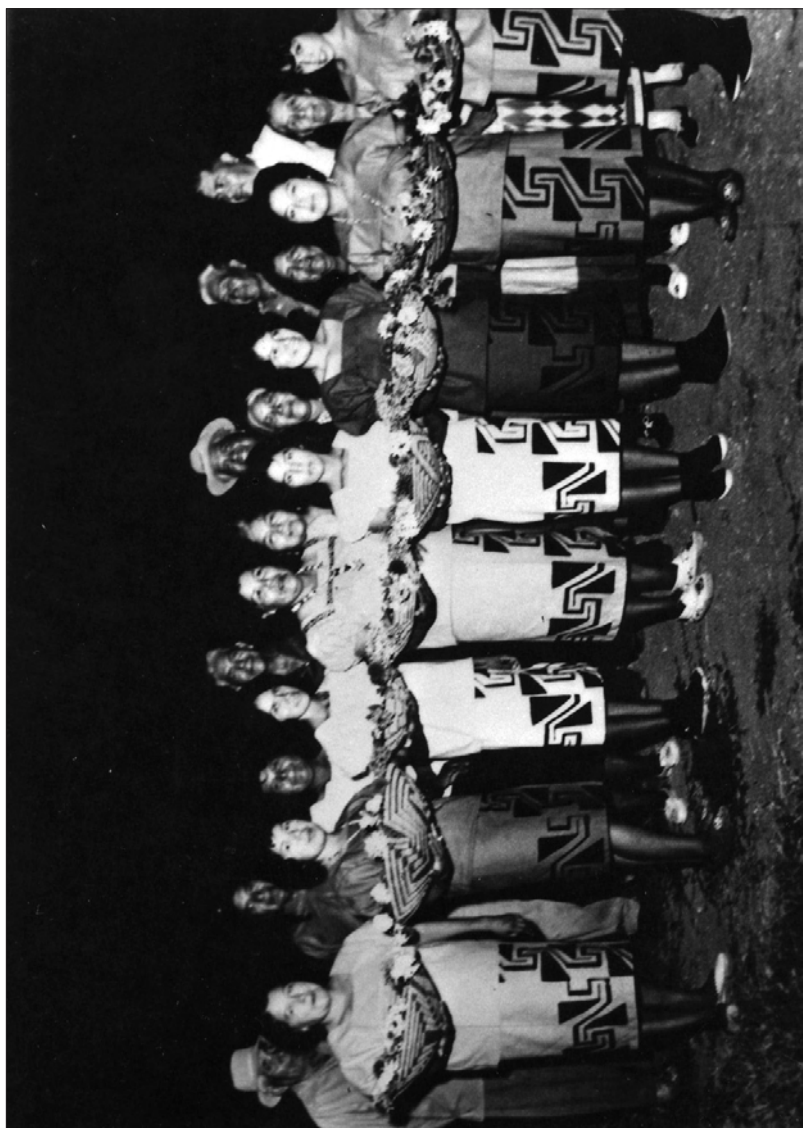
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<sup>66</sup>“Southside News,” 9; Peterson, *The Ninth Temple*, 88.

<sup>67</sup>Richard O. Cowan, “The Historic Arizona Temple,” *Journal of Mormon History* 32 (Spring 2005): 103.

<sup>68</sup>Heber J. Grant, “Dedicatory Prayer,” 66; manuscript in files of Mesa Arizona Temple.

<sup>69</sup>Richard O. Cowan, *Temples to Dot the Earth* (Salt Lake City: Bookcraft, 1989), 134–35; Cowan, “The Historic Arizona Temple,” 115; Peterson, *The Ninth Temple*, 96; “300 Attend Two Sessions at Mesa,” *Deseret News*, October 17, 1953, 17.



*Claudina Wood and Leonard Caslos Dance Group, in costume to do their "Basket Dance," in 1960. It is believed that most of them are LDS and members of the Papago Ward. Courtesy LDS Church History Library.*

of this nature in the Church.<sup>70</sup>

Auxiliary organizations were added to the Papago Ward slowly. While the earliest organizations included an elders' quorum and a Relief Society—both organized in 1888, it was not until February 1937 that a ward Mutual Improvement Association was created for the youth. Initially this auxiliary served only three boys who were accompanied, at times, by several nonmember friends. In 1993, a ward Scouting unit was established.<sup>71</sup>

Though Native American members of the Papago Ward experienced initial farming success in Lehi, following the establishment of the Salt River reservation, a lack of sufficient water continued to plague them. A rapidly industrializing nation further put them at an economic disadvantage, as many continued to use traditional methods rather than adopting modern machinery when available.<sup>72</sup> Periodically crops failed. Though hard working, ward members were reduced to seeking forms of unskilled labor to support their families.<sup>73</sup>

Conversely, habits of self-reliance helped to ameliorate difficult periods. Members sometimes organized cooperative farms and orchards. In 1939, a land development program was inaugurated using thirteen leased acres planted in cotton and sweet potatoes.<sup>74</sup> This project expanded by another fifty acres in 1943, that Edwin C. Santeo made available for its use. Santeo, a Pima and noted Church and Indian School leader, periodically attended the San Tan branch, a dependent branch of the Papago Ward.<sup>75</sup> Though no contracts were signed, other members also allowed land to be put under lease. Eventually, 3,500 acres of undeveloped land were cultivated. By the end of the 1940s, this program had become a major source of employment

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<sup>70</sup>Jill B. Adair, "Native American Ward United through Family History," *Church News*, September 27, 1997, 6; "First Genealogical Class Held for Indians," *Deseret News*, December 21, 1949, 25.

<sup>71</sup>Hicks, "Autobiography," 103.

<sup>72</sup>"Starving Pima Indians," *Deseret News*, March 10, 1900, 1.

<sup>73</sup>"Local Indians," *Arizona Republican*, June 10, 1890, 1.

<sup>74</sup>Hicks, "Autobiography," 109.

<sup>75</sup>"Indian Mormon Leader Dies," *Casa Grande Dispatch*, November 19, 1943, 3.



*The present-day Papago Ward and Lehi Branch meetinghouse. Photo September 20, 2012, by D. L. Turner.*

for LDS and non-member reservation residents alike.<sup>76</sup>

Native American ward members adopted other Christian and distinctively Mormon religious celebrations, including Christmas, Old Folks' Day, the 24th of July (Pioneer Day), and Lehi Day, a holiday that commemorated, for white Lehi residents, the entrance of Utah pioneers into the Salt River Valley. For Papago members, this holiday honored the first conversions among the Pima and Maricopa. Despite this difference, at the Papago Ward, such events usually attracted large crowds of spectators and featured performances by the ward choir, a jackrabbit hunt, feasting, and a variety of track and field or other athletic events. Of these holidays, Christmas was the most elaborately celebrated occasion, with festivities lasting from December 24 through December 26. Festivities traditionally included a jackrabbit hunt, special services, carols from the ward choir, a visit from Santa Claus, and a feast where as many as a thousand Native Americans and visitors were banqueted.<sup>77</sup>

It should be noted that members of the Papago Ward also contributed to Church leadership on a stake level. In May 1980, Ben

<sup>76</sup>Smith, "Papago Indians Maintain Separate Ward," 14C; Hicks, "Autobiography," 96, 102–9, 125.

<sup>77</sup>"Joseph Wellington, an Educated Pima," *Arizona Republican*, August 24, 1908, 7; "Excursion to Mesa Friday Afternoon," *Arizona Republican*, July 23, 1908, 5; "Feature of the Celebration of Pioneer Day at Mesa Today,"

Wood, sixty-seven, the Papago Ward's assistant high priests group leader, was ordained patriarch of the Lehi Stake. Though the Church does not keep records regarding patriarchs' race or nationality, some sources indicate that Wood was among the first Native Americans to serve in this position and was the first to serve from central Arizona.<sup>78</sup>

The Papago Ward meetinghouse was renovated and then rededicated in 1997 by LDS Church president Gordon B. Hinckley, a great-nephew of the Papago Ward's first bishop, Arza Hinckley. As part of the LDS cultural landscape in central Arizona, a community atmosphere continues to be an important element of worship. As part of this, the Papago Ward finds multiple ways in which to preserve its culture and continues to participate as an active social element in the LDS Church. While LDS aims do not include segregation according to interest, culture, or origins, they remain flexible according to the needs of each congregation.<sup>79</sup> For this reason, the Papago Ward continues to maintain its identity in an agricultural setting and to take pride in its unique historical past as the oldest continuous Native American organization in the LDS Church.<sup>80</sup>

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*Arizona Republican*, July 24, 1908, 1; "Mesa," *Arizona Republican*, September 5, 1908, 10; "Local History," *Salt Lake Tribune*, May 20, 1910, 6; "Lehi News," *Arizona Republican*, March 11, 1915, 8; Hicks, "Autobiography," 100–102.

<sup>78</sup>Crismon Lewis, "Patriarch Ben Wood," *Latter-Day Sentinel*, June 6, 1980, 24.

<sup>79</sup>Jessie L. Embry, "Why Have Native American Wards?" n.d. Typescript, Charles Redd Center for Western Studies, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah; photocopy in my possession.

<sup>80</sup>Danette Turner, "Papago Ward Is 100 Years Old," *Latter-Day Sentinel*, March 9, 1984, 5.



# DEBATING SUCCESSION, MARCH 1846: JOHN E. PAGE, ORSON HYDE, AND THE TRAJECTORIES OF JOSEPH SMITH'S LEGACY

*Benjamin E. Park and Robin Scott Jensen*

*When I gain that [testimony], I shall as fearlessly advocate your interest, and claims, as I did Pres- Smiths . . . For surely if Pres- Smith did not “apoint” a Prophet Revelator, Translator, and seer, “in his stead” the whole work has come to a dead stand, and adjourned proceedings Sini Die in a legal point of light.” –John E. Page to James J. Strang, February 1, 1846<sup>1</sup>*

*The contest here has been a hard one. . . . You may think that I have taken a responsibility that I ought [not] to do, but I prayed to the Lord to give me power to preserve his people from the wolves. . . . But all goes well, as the boy said when his breeches were down and his fingers so numb that he could not button them up. But I tell you that God has been*

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<sup>1</sup>John E. Page, Letter to James J. Strang, February 1, 1846, James Jesse Strang Collection, Yale Collection of Western Americana, Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library; hereafter Strang Collection.

*with me so far and enabled me to keep the enemy at bay.*—Orson Hyde,  
*Letter to Brigham Young, March 16, 1846*<sup>2</sup>

THE DEBATES OVER CHURCH LEADERSHIP that followed Joseph Smith's death in 1844, commonly referred to as the "Succession Crisis," have received much attention in Mormon historiography.<sup>3</sup> Most treatments of this period have focused on the ecclesiastical questions that plagued Mormonism's structure. What power did the Quorum of the Twelve hold in Nauvoo? What role did lineage play in Smith's conception of ecclesiological succession? A less common but still persistent framing is the question of personalities: How did Brigham Young dismiss Sidney Rigdon? Why did James Strang's Smith-like charisma garner so many followers?

While these are important questions, what is often overlooked is the dynamic role creative theology and religious thought played during the debates. Scholars often depict Smith's Nauvoo theology as a set path with logical progressions that led to the radical Mormonism of Utah—a path that was consciously rejected by some competing groups while adapted by others. Most accounts present Smith's thought at the time of his death as a coherent worldview meant to be accepted, rejected, or, in some cases, peeled back to a pristine past that preceded corruption. We argue in this article that Smith's theology, even as late as 1844, was pregnant with possibilities, saturated with inherent tensions and paradoxes, and capable of several trajec-

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<sup>2</sup>Orson Hyde, Letter to Brigham Young, March 16, 1846, Brigham Young Collection, LDS Church History Library.

<sup>3</sup>Most influential are Michael D. Quinn, *The Mormon Hierarchy: Origins of Power* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1994); Andrew F. Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances and the 1844 Succession Question" (M.A. thesis: Brigham Young University, 1982); Ronald K. Esplin, "Joseph, Brigham, and the Twelve: A Succession of Continuity," *BYU Studies* 21, no. 3 (Summer 1981): 301–41; Danny L. Jorgensen, "Dissent and Schism in the Early Church: Explaining Mormon Fissiparousness," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 28, no. 3 (Fall 1995): 15–39; Danny L. Jorgensen, "Studies of Mormon Fissiparousness: Conflict, Dissent, and Schism in the Early Church," in Newell G. Bringhurst and Lavina Fielding Anderson, eds., *Excavating Mormon Pasts: The Historiography of the Last Half Century* (Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2004), 229–52.

ries poised to depart in numerous directions—directions explored in the leadership debates of 1844–47 and, as a case study for this paper, the debates between John E. Page and Orson Hyde in 1846.<sup>4</sup>

The thought of Joseph Smith, just like the thought of any other religious or ideological innovator, is difficult—if not impossible—to fully reconstruct. Smith's revelations and teachings were more concerned with establishing doctrinal foundations and possibilities than with the niceties of systematic theology.<sup>5</sup> Prophets, by nature, are often eclectic, leaving behind an inchoate set of beliefs that must be synthesized and expanded by followers of the religious system. The role of a theological inheritor is not a faithful continuation of the founder's belief structure, despite their objections to the contrary, but the obligation to choose, utilize, expand, and appropriate concepts already present, if not yet fully realized, in the existing institution.<sup>6</sup> Thus, the debates over Smith's religious legacy that followed his death were not so much a rejection of already present ideological structures, or even a retrenchment to previous points of Mormonism's theological development, but defenses for specific emphases that had existed within the Mormon movement.

Further, more than just revealing the ambiguities within Smith's theology, the debates over Smith's mantle demonstrate the broader culture in which Mormonism thrived. Just as Smith's own thought did not develop in a vacuum, his successors drew from contemporary ten-

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<sup>4</sup>A recent and useful treatment is Christopher Blythe, "Recreating Religion: The Response to Joseph Smith's Innovations in the Second Prophetic Generation of Mormonism" (M.A. thesis: Utah State University, 2010).

<sup>5</sup>This concept is more fully explored in Benjamin E. Park, "(Re)Interpreting Early Mormon Thought: Synthesizing Joseph Smith's Theology and the Politics of Religious Formation in Antebellum America," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 45 (Summer 2012): 59–88. The most cogent examination of Smith's theological vision as a coherent whole is Samuel Morris Brown, *In Heaven as It Is on Earth: Joseph Smith and the Early Mormon Conquest of Death* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

<sup>6</sup>Max Weber has been the most influential in establishing the methodological concept. Weber, *On Charisma and Institutional Building*, edited by S. N. Eisenstadt (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968). See also Rodney Stark and William Sims Bainbridge, *A Theory of Religion* (New York: Peter Lang, 1987).

sions, fears, and ideas in their own interpretations of Mormonism. The antebellum period was a dynamic moment in American religious history, where Christian sects fought in a frenzied landscape steeped in debate and dissent. Religious disestablishment, coupled with the growing connection between American culture and capitalist ideology, created a spiritual marketplace that forced competing religionists to utilize cultural currents in their promotion of specific beliefs and practices.<sup>7</sup> By closely examining the debates surrounding Mormonism's leadership in 1844–47, then, one can decipher not only remnants of Smith's thought, but crucial themes in American religion during the mid-nineteenth century.

This article traces various strains and issues by focusing on a single moment of interaction: the March 1846 debates between John E. Page, representing charismatic leader James J. Strang, and Orson Hyde, advocating the Quorum of the Twelve. In one respect, the time and place of this debate was a moment of power for the Twelve: These debates took place in Nauvoo shortly after many Saints had participated in the Nauvoo Temple ordinances and when Brigham Young and most of the Twelve had led a solid body of Church members into Iowa the preceding month. In another respect, this was also a period of great tumult: Threats of external violence, growing questions over polygamous practices, and the expected difficulties of a westward migration contributed to Strangism's most formidable—though ultimately unsuccessful—push in Mormon Nauvoo.<sup>8</sup>

In the midst of this upheaval, Page, once a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and long-time follower of Joseph Smith, became convinced of Strang's succession claims and transformed briefly into the movement's most powerful orator in Mormonism's center city. His advocacy posed a sufficiently serious threat that Hyde, the apostle left in charge of the Saints lacking the resources or other-

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<sup>7</sup>Nathan O. Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1989); Jon Butler, *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1992).

<sup>8</sup>For an overview of Strangism's success during this period, see Robin Scott Jensen, "Gleaning the Harvest: Strangite Missionary Work, 1846–1850" (M.A. thesis: Brigham Young University, 2005), 17–72; Vickie Cleverley Speek, *"God Has Made Us a Kingdom": James Strang and the Midwest Mormons* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2006).

wise unable to migrate, sought to confront and dispel Page's (and thus Strang's) claims. The ensuing debates—argued in front of what Hyde called, with one exception, “the largest congregation assembled at the stand west of the Temple that I ever saw”<sup>9</sup>—touched on many of the tensions and malleability inherent within Mormon thought.

On November 16, 1845, Thomas Bullock, clerk to the Historian's Office, began to record sermons in a forty-eight-page notebook. This sermon notebook was not his first nor last, as he provided important historical and ecclesiastical continuity of public discourse in Nauvoo through much of 1845 and 1846. Bullock's carefully preserved minutes of these public sermons documented for future generations oral texts otherwise lost to history. This 1845–46 notebook includes several sets of minutes in February/March 1846 detailing Hyde's sermons in which he preaches, in part, against James J. Strang. In addition, Bullock recorded on loose pages a March 3, 1846, meeting called by Page, then a Strangite apostle. Though not knowable, we wonder if Bullock's use of loose sheets, rather than his notebook, was Bullock's judgment of these minutes as less official. The March 3, 1846, minutes and the minutes of the two meetings recorded in Bullock's more official notebook—meetings called by Hyde in response to and under the auspices of the Twelve—have particular interest for this study and to the rhetoric surrounding the questions of theological development after Joseph Smith's death.<sup>10</sup>

Historians should not slip into a false security about the capability of the minutes to represent the past. Thomas Bullock carefully captured the language spoken at these sermons within the limitations of the event and of his own note-taking. Though Bullock knew Taylor shorthand, he wrote these minutes in longhand. As a result, the wording is curt, the handwriting difficult to decipher in places, and abbreviations are frequent. Once transcribed, the resulting notes are not a complete text but are broken into phrases and shortened passages. While it is tempting to treat this text as definitive sources of the oral sermons, these documentary remnants must always be viewed with

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<sup>9</sup>Orson Hyde, Letter to Brigham Young, March 10, 1846, Brigham Young Papers.

<sup>10</sup>The minutes, which were retained in the LDS Church's possession since their creation, are now in the General Church Minutes Collection, Box 1, fds. 43, 45, LDS Church History Library. The block quotations that appear at section breaks without citation are from these minutes.

an element of incompleteness. At times, phrases are incomplete, thoughts are left ambiguous, and what Bullock meant by some abbreviations cannot be deduced. In addition, such notes rarely capture gestures, vocal inflections, pauses, or other nontextual elements. In sum, these surviving notes provide only a shadow of the actual oral text. Yet despite these limitations, important insights can be drawn from them.

Although this article focuses on the March debate, and takes as its text the sermon notes, the analysis and conclusions reach beyond that textual record into the larger context in which the sermons were given. Of course, Hyde did not wholly represent Brigham Young and the Twelve, nor did Page fully mirror Strang's own theology. Rather, these two important men represented the way in which so many Mormons following Joseph Smith's death personalized and conceptualized their arguments regarding succession. In an attempt to foreground the voices and arguments from the debate and to help ground this paper better on the text of the debate itself, we have punctuated our analysis with block quotations from these sermons that illustrate the tensions of each individual section. This text-centered approach will, we hope, offer more complete glimpses into the immediate context and environment. Because we are not presenting the texts in their entirety as a documentary editing presentation, we favor readability and comprehension over transcription accuracy and close adherence to the textual record. Among our silent emendations to increase readability are correct spellings, the introduction or modernization of punctuation and capitalization, and the silent expansion of abbreviations and other non-standard truncated words. Clarifying words are in brackets. Researchers interested in accessing scans to the original documents can also consult their DVD publication.<sup>11</sup>

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*In every case of dissension that has come under me, it has been to investigate the private character—a course which no honest man will pursue. Private character is one thing, public principle is another & it is my firmness to the principle of 1830 that causes me to be here. . . . I*

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<sup>11</sup>Richard E. Turley, ed., *Selected Collections from the Archives of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, 2 vols. DVD (Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Press, [Dec. 2002]), Vol. 1, DVD #18.



*dissent from no principle which has been taught me by the "thus saith the Lord."*—John E. Page<sup>12</sup>

The origin narrative of Mormonism by 1844 was replete with questioning the religious authority of the larger antebellum religious culture. But questioning authority was a reality in the Church's recent past as well. Schism in Mormonism often resulted in conservative members reaching back into a more revelatory past that communicated greater orthodoxy. Page, citing the frequent "dissensions" of Mormonism, identified the "general laws" that should govern Mormonism and by which various fractured Mormonisms could be judged. These general laws—which Page saw as eternal principles—were made known to the Church through revelation by a prophetic leader. "It is my firmness to the principles of 1830," Page announced, "that causes me to be here." Ignoring these general laws and the revelatory leadership that brought them forth typified a rejection of what many began to call 1830 Mormonism, hearkening back to when the Church was first organized.

Citing prophetic change on the one hand while simultaneously citing the static principles or "general laws" of Mormonism on the other typifies other paradoxes in Page's view of the direction of the Church. These tensions included a prophet who received revelation but who had to be bound by past revelation; a temple built according to a revelation but with little actual meaning or importance tied to its liturgy; and a charismatic leader but one who would not offend followers' sensibilities. These tensions not only represented Page's understanding of what Mormonism should be, but they also hinted at the complexities and real paradoxes some Mormons faced after Smith's death.

Whatever theological differences may have existed between Page and Hyde, a practical consideration clearly influenced Page's responses: Page had grown distant from his brethren in the Twelve, partly due to his own (in)actions.<sup>13</sup> While most of the Twelve rushed back to Nauvoo as soon as they heard of Joseph Smith's death, it took Page about a year and a half to return, well after key events solidified

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<sup>12</sup>These block quotations differentiating sections are in the General Church Minutes Collection, Box 1, fds. 43, 45, LDS Church History Library.

<sup>13</sup>For a brief biography of Page, with a particular emphasis on his Strangite connections, see William Shepard, "Shadows on the Sun Dial:

the authority of the Twelve in many members' minds. Page was therefore not present for the contest between Brigham Young and Sidney Rigdon, the subsequent trial of Rigdon that resulted in his excommunication, the development of a post-Smithian temple theology, nor the economic and practical necessity of the Twelve taking charge of the institutional Church.

But a more personal distance also developed. Page expressed this distance in a letter to Strang, specifically complaining about his financial difficulties: "My brethren of the same Quorum appear to enjoy a reasonable plenty to sustain them in their capacity, I do not say they enjoy too much, but I do say, that I do not enjoy enough."<sup>14</sup> Page's distance and difficulty in achieving unity with his quorum serve as important reminders that schism rarely stems purely from theological differences.

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*If Joseph did not receive the revelations as Moses did, why should we be governed by it now? It became of more force when he died. The new order of things is, not to read the revelations to the people. Measure your Spirit by the letter of the word. (reading) "until I shall appoint another in his stead" For what? to receive revelations. If no more commandments are to be given, how are you to build another temple without a "thus saith the Lord?" If J.J.Strang is not the man who is appointed, I want to know who is? You are without a head, a revelator, or seer—you are a body without a head & I would not have a red cent over for it.—John E. Page*

Page mourned the direction in which the Church was going—particularly considering the patterns already established in the Doctrine and Covenants. There, the Lord, speaking through Joseph Smith, informed the Church members how they should be governed: "Verily, verily I say unto you, that ye have received a commandment

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John E. Page and the Strangites," *Dialogue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 41 (Spring 2009): 34–66. See also John Quist, "John E. Page: Apostle of Uncertainty," in John Sillito and Susan Staker, eds., *Mormon Mavericks: Essays on Dissenters* (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2002), 19–42.

<sup>14</sup>John E. Page, Letter to James J. Strang, February 1, 1846, Strang Collection.

for a law unto my church, through him whom I have appointed unto you, to receive commandments and revelations from my hand.” According to Page, the Lord clarified how He would reveal His word to His Church so that confusion would be minimal. Smith’s revelation explicitly directed “that ye receive not the teachings of any that shall come before you as revelations or commandments: and this I give unto you, that you may not be deceived, that you may know they are not of me.”<sup>15</sup> The general laws of Mormonism as found in the revelations outlined a prophetic figure to lead the Church, which ensured that the revelations to lead the Church could be tested based on the source from which they came.

The Twelve, according to Page, acted under a new revelation to move west—a false revelation that contradicted the canon of Joseph Smith’s revelations and the expectation of future revelation. Jehiel Savage, Page’s companion, opened the March 3 meeting with prayer asking God “that the Saints run not until they are commanded.” Any new commandment, according to Page’s interpretation, should be weighed against previous commandments.

The juxtaposition of this Nauvoo sermon with Orson Hyde’s a little less than a year and a half earlier is striking. At the trial of Sidney Rigdon, Hyde preached: “When any man comes here with a revelation, purporting to be from God, we feel in duty bound to question its validity. This is a kind of furnace to prove all things, and Elder Rigdon don’t like to come into the furnace.”<sup>16</sup> In 1844, Hyde spoke against Rigdon and his new revelation on the basis that it countered the established pattern; in 1846, Page preached against Hyde and the new revelations his quorum presented that also went against the establishment.

To be fair, while Page called for comparing the new revelations with past revelations found in the Doctrine and Covenants in 1844, Hyde called for a close analysis of the revelation by the quorums of the Church. Because Page’s ultimate authority was the Doctrine and Covenants, he shared his concern with the direction of the Church: “I have heard the appeal made that the book of [Doctrine and] Cove-

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<sup>15</sup>Revelation given in February 1831, as printed in the 1844 edition of the Doctrine and Covenants (Nauvoo, Ill.: John Taylor, 1844), 14:2 (1979 LDS edition 43:2, 5–6).

<sup>16</sup>“Trial of Sidney Rigdon,” *Times and Seasons* 5, no. 17 (September 15, 1844): 648.

nants is not a law for this people—that when Jesus died he did not appoint a successor—but it devolved upon the 12. . . . If any man says that the general laws [or eternal principles] of the D. & C. are done away,” he asks “what order are we going to have in its place[?]” For Page, Smith’s past revelations held the key to testing the content of additional revelation. Revelation testing revelation provided intellectual stability for those looking to the past but produced a paradox to those anticipating a revelatory future.

Relying strictly upon past revelation, Page told his audience that he found only a foreign structure and organization of the current Church. “Where is the common sense of it?” he asked his audience. The Doctrine and Covenants describes the roles and responsibilities of the various quorums: “The President of the Church is appointed by revelation.” “If we go to the D. & C for a [leadership position within the] quorum of the 12,” he declared, “the same book shews the ‘necessity’ of a prophet. Where was the necessity for a prophet for the last few years?” The printed revelations explicitly list the roles and responsibilities of the differing quorums: “Where is the propriety of sending out the Elders to proclaim the authority of the 12 doing two duties?” “The 1st presidency was to stay at home, & direct the 12—& the 12 to direct the 70s. The necessity is: the President must receive revelations & direct the 12 wherever they shall go.” If Page was wrong to believe in such a literal and firm reading of the revelations, so be it. “Here is my apostasy,” he declared. “I can’t believe that a travelling council can stay at home.” Page’s invocation of one of Joseph Smith’s most prominent revelations (LDS D&C 107)—which calls for a First Presidency (which would not be organized for another three years), and limited authority for the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles (which the text defines as a “traveling council” with jurisdiction only over peripheral branches)—was a literalist argument seemingly drawn unambiguously from Joseph Smith’s earlier ecclesiology.

Page’s close reading of these revelations, however, reveals one example of how Mormons interpreted their religion during this transitional period of the Church hierarchy. For those living in Nauvoo during Smith’s lifetime, their model of Mormon government was that of adaption. New circumstances produced constant change, with Smith being the most conspicuous proponent of such a model. During the Nauvoo period, for example, Smith moved beyond the revelations Page quoted by personally giving the Twelve more authority at Church headquarters. But for those outside Nauvoo, a more static

model prevailed, with the Doctrine and Covenants and the Church's newspaper, the *Times and Seasons*, leading the thinking. Away from Smith, the Church was more autonomous and therefore depended more heavily on Smith's revelations and other writings. Page's call for a closer dependency on the guidance in the Doctrine and Covenants reveals, at best, a dated understanding of how Church governance worked during that time within Church headquarters. Page, as an apostle, must have seen how some of the revelations from the mid-1830s were outdated, even if he did no more than consult his own memory of the Twelve's shifting roles since 1835. The tension Page preached that winter day in 1846 called for a return to Mormon leadership as found in the revelations of Joseph Smith—but which had not actually been practiced by Smith for years.

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*It is a new point of doctrine & a new idea to me that the Doctrine & Covenants is not necessary for the sanctification of the people. There is not a greater damnable error that was ever preached in the whole world. If this makes me an apostate, I shall be proud of being considered an apostate & promulgate it to the world. —John E. Page*

One of Page's complaints about the Twelve's leadership stemmed from their treatment of him. As the leadership of the Church fell to the Twelve, an exclusionary mentality began to manifest itself against the supporters of Rigdon, William Marks, and those like James Emmett, Lyman Wight, and Alpheus Cutler who felt they were justified in fulfilling Smith's instructions given before his death. Such pressures for unity from the Twelve violated Page's concept that the Restoration should preserve open-ended questioning from its followers. Such exploration, as it were, went against the charismatic and demanding prophet Page discussed during his March 3 address. The individualism of the American republic rejected the submission of one's will to authoritarian figures; the exception was a singular and clear designation of God's prophet who had the right to require obedience. And here, Page spoke out against such a totalitarian rule.

Describing the meeting at which he was disfellowshipped, Page recalled that Hyde "gave [him] a real tear down [and] reproof. & when he [Hyde] finished he said this is by the voice of the Holy Ghost." Page quipped, "I say, God deliver me from the Holy Ghost. . . . I will go to

hell sooner than take abuse. & the devil shall have it to say 'here's a man that is damned like a man.'" For Page, leadership of the Church should act in accordance to Christian living, but Page did not explain how the charismatic religious figure he longed for, prone to bursts of revelations, could satisfy everyone in the Church. Smith's own past showed the impossibility of pleasing everyone, for religious schisms had plagued the Mormon movement from the beginning.

Page's appeal for sympathy from his audience was a gamble that failed to pay off materially or, more importantly for Page's proselytizing effort, religiously. In countering the Twelve's argument about the additional duties in bestowing ordinances in the temple, Page cited his poverty as his reason for not participating: "Why was not I receiving the ordinances that the others were promoted to? I went to the council as often as my circumstances would permit." According to Page, many Church members and leaders considered complete sacrifice necessary to receive these keys and Page's inability to gain access to the councils of the Twelve—through his own inaction—meant that "condemnation rolls on my head." Page's rhetorical pathos largely failed to open members' purses. "On Sunday evening," according to Hyde, "Page preached for the Strangites, and he murmured and complained of poverty so bitterly that they passed round the hat for him. 3 or 4 small pieces of money were put in with any quantity of nails, buttons, chips &c. The hat was capsized upon the table before him and the people, and its contents were not a little annoying to the fallen hero, besides furnishing a fine dish of sport for the curious."<sup>17</sup>

But Page sought more than monetary assistance. He was appealing for sympathy as a faithful member of the Church who had been spiritually abused by the Twelve: "I stand up in the dignity of a man. I will go to hell sooner than take abuse [from the Twelve]. & the devil shall have it to say 'here's a man that is damned like a man' (laughter [from the audience]). I want you to examine the Book of Mormon & are [sic] what liability there was to apostatize. If I have erred, it is because I placed too much confidence in them that taught me." Page set himself up as a spiritual martyr in an attempt to draw followers away from the more dominant authority of the Twelve. However, Page miscalculated his influence over his audience. Mormonism already had

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<sup>17</sup>Orson Hyde, Letter to Brigham Young, March 10, 1846, Brigham Young Collection.



its prophetic martyr to look to for spiritual strength and authoritative justification.

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*Ever since I have been engaged in Mormonism I have driven the gentiles to the letter of the book in which they have believed, having the example of Joseph, the 12, & the authorities of the church to draw the line between general & local laws. When a local law is discharged it becomes nothing more or less than history. When a temple is finished it is not a command to build another, unless another command is given. The laws given in the days of Moses were not abrogated at his death. In regard to the laws that shall guide all Israel those laws are yet enforced upon Israel.—John E. Page*

To Page, the temple served as an additional symbol to bolster his argument about the Twelve's usurpation of power. But even the place of the temple in Page's understanding presented a paradox. To Page, the command to Joseph Smith and the Church to build the temple was paramount.<sup>18</sup> Only a prophet could command the building of a temple. Thus, to abandon such an edifice resulted in permanent consequences in Page's understanding of the direction of the Church. "The 12 have only to soap any thing over with the name of Joseph & down it goes. There is nothing but involves your character at this time to forsake the Temple." But Page was unclear what the temple represented to his brand of theology or concept of Mormonism. The rituals did not appear to play a central role to Page or his understanding of the rights of authority in arguing for a successor to Smith. He did not argue during his sermon what the temple and the ordinances actually did for Mormonism. This failure to attach any significant meaning to it was likely due in part to his exclusion from the endowment and the Quorum of the Anointed under Smith. One thing was clear to Page: To move west was to leave behind an important structure—a structure that could not be easily built again without a prophet to lead them: "How are you to build another temple without a 'thus saith the Lord[?]'?" he demanded rhetorically. The physical building represented the leadership of a prophet and revelator to Page. Without a

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<sup>18</sup>Joseph Smith had dictated the commandment to build a temple January 19, 1841 (LDS D&C 124).

prophet, there could be no temple. What occurred inside that building was secondary. This paradox of temple importance without an emphasis on the internal ordinances of the temple did not fit into Page's interpretation of Mormonism.

It is true that Joseph Smith's death left a hole in the leadership of the Church—a void some rushed to fill. Smith's method of leadership, however, and revealed knowledge created a way for multiple interpretations of the future direction and interpretation of the religion he left. The revelations in print provided one such way in which individuals could interpret Mormonism. But those close to Nauvoo and Smith's charismatic leadership, with his oral teachings that went beyond what was in print, provided an expanded view of Mormonism.

Page, increasingly distant from the inner councils of the Church, failed to see (or ignored) the way in which Smith himself deviated from the established teachings he had set up earlier. Smith treated Mormonism as a living organism—a precedent continued after his death. Simplifying or ignoring Smith's treatment of past revelation represents Page's selectivity in (de)emphasizing Smith's teachings. Thus, as Page called for a closer adherence to Mormonism's past traditions, he also promoted a paradoxical view of Mormonism, one that most in Nauvoo could not accept.

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*This morning I shall speak on the organization of the church. Don't you recollect [when] Jesus Christ was the president of the Church he chose 12 Apostles & they were witnesses, to go to all the nations & preach? By & bye the Savior was crucified & ascended to heaven—did he take the keys with him or leave them on the Earth? He did both—he left knowledge on Earth & took knowledge with him, & Knowledge is power. Says [Jesus] to Peter, I give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.—Orson Hyde*

John E. Page, and the interpretation of Mormonism he represented, was poised to take many believers from the Twelve. Strang had successfully appropriated an important and public strain of Joseph Smith's theology and thus presented a compelling claim to the Mormon mantle. Yet Orson Hyde was able to use other equally valid rhetorical and theological strains of early Mormonism in defending the Quorum of the Twelve. Specifically, in his March 1846 debate against Page, Hyde drew at least three primary arguments from

Smith's legacy: (1) a literal biblical exegesis based on a New Testament pattern and grounded in Mormonism's idiosyncratic tradition of scriptural interpretation; (2) a collapse of the distance between the earth and the spirit world argument that, concomitantly, venerated Joseph Smith even as it gave power to the Twelve; and, finally, (3) an emphasis on kingly power and hierarchical organization that served as a standard for truth.

Just as Joseph Smith patterned his own prophetic position after Old Testament models, the Twelve patterned their succession rights after the New Testament narrative. "Don't you recollect," Hyde reasoned, when "Jesus Christ was the president of the Church he chose 12 Apostles"; and later, when he "was crucified & ascended to heaven," he left the "keys [and] knowledge" with the Twelve. As scholars have long noted, much of early Mormonism's message hinged on specific interpretations and literalistic readings of the biblical text that, in turn, reaffirmed desired messages—what Philip Barlow aptly described as "selective literalism."<sup>19</sup> Mormons, of course, were both a reflection of and expansion from a broader antebellum American tradition of biblical groundedness, a culture that based epistemological truth on appeals to the Judeo-Christian scriptures. Religious innovations often meant, even for radical departures from American orthodoxy like Mormonism, a creative rereading of the Bible instead of a revolutionary transplantation of ideas and systems not found therein; Christianity in antebellum America was validated first and foremost through a biblical common-sense that often trumped competing claims.<sup>20</sup>

For the Twelve, however, the Bible was much more than just a theological database: It was also an archetypal standard upon which ecclesiastical systems were to be justified. Indeed, Hyde grounded the Twelve's succession claims on a New Testament precedent that seemingly validated the quorum's right to succeed a founding prophet.

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<sup>19</sup>Philip Barlow, *Mormons and the Bible: The Place of the Latter-day Saints in American Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 32–36, 65.

<sup>20</sup>E. Brooks Holifield, *Theology in America: Christian Thought from the Age of the Puritans to the Civil War* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2003), 174–80; Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Hearing Things: Religion, Illusion, and the American Enlightenment* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000), 169; Mark A. Noll, *America's God: From Jonathan Edwards to Abraham Lincoln* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 93.

Much as the Bible provided fragments or building blocks for theological and doctrinal debates during the period, it similarly provided useable materials for ecclesiastical arguments. Such a reading collapsed the distances between American and Palestinian contexts, establishing scriptural passages not only as a repository for religious principles but as a blueprint for practical organization. This institutionalized reading of scriptures aptly represents the Twelve's emphasis on centralized power and routinized charisma over individual spirituality.

This message found especially fertile ground in a debate saturated with scriptural exegesis. Strangite arguments were typically based in Doctrine and Covenants passages, seeking patterns and precedents that were both logical and authoritative. Yet Joseph Smith's revelations as printed in the Doctrine and Covenants lacked the narrative clarity and unequivocally shared foundation of the biblical text. By appealing specifically to the Bible—a text that was both authoritative enough to bring credibility but malleable enough to bolster his argument—Hyde drew from a tradition that was perceivably both clear and well established.

Indeed, while the Bible itself was full of scattered and, at times, contradictory blueprints for ecclesiastical reform, Mormons mirrored their Protestant neighbors by being selectively literal and presenting biblical examples as if they were foundational, universal, and unwavering. The ecclesiastical sections of the Doctrine and Covenants were ambiguous and could be debated due to their shared heritage, while the biblical narrative provided a clear example that affirmed the role of twelve apostles. Even in a restorationist setting, then, where a modern prophet perceivably allowed current expansions to that tradition and a modern book of scripture provided competing guidelines, Mormonism's belief in biblical continuity both restricted and enabled possible arguments. Even though the participants were debating the latter-day organization, arguments made from ancient settings still carried enormous weight. This was, for the most part, true with Joseph Smith, and it continued to be true in the succession debates.

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*[The] Doctrine & Covenants says, "I will never take the keys from thee (Smith) in this world nor in the world to come"—how can a man try & skip into his place? But I say, "you can't cause it." Allowing that Joseph Smith is in his place, where is the promise that another is to*

*be appointed in his place? (no) [The] D&C: "the keys of the Kingdom shall never be taken from thee, in this world nor in the world to come."*—Orson Hyde

But a simple reliance on the Bible would not be enough. A common accusation against Brigham Young and the Twelve was that they were departing from Joseph Smith's legacy as an inspired prophet and the Doctrine and Covenants as a revealed text: In the first place, Smith never publicly declared through revelation, discourse, or print, challengers argued, that the Quorum of the Twelve was supposed to take authoritative control; second, the direction the Twelve was leading the Church—including centralized power and a growing knowledge of the Twelve's polygamous practices—trampled on the liberating message of "pure" Mormonism.<sup>21</sup> Thus, when facing challengers who emphasized what they believed to be the "Mormon tradition," the apostles were forced to ground their arguments in Smith's revelations and scriptural texts. This was especially the case with Page, who focused his remarks on what the Mormon scriptural corpus does—and does not—say about succession. Hyde realized that any theological position that did not have a base in the Doctrine and Covenants would be a losing position but recognized that many of that scripture's passages could be interpreted in various ways.

Hyde, and many other innovative interpreters like Parley P. Pratt, found a way around this quandary by reorienting the theological discussion. Instead of relying on the popular but somewhat ambiguous ecclesiastical sections like Doctrine and Covenants 107, Hyde focused on other theological principles that better correlated with their present position. Particularly fertile ground was Smith's role as president of the priesthood. The "Doctrine and Covenants says," Hyde reasoned in the debate, "I will never take the keys from thee (Smith) in this world nor in the world to come." This scriptural passage (LDS D&C 90:3) on its surface, doesn't seem to have much relevance to suc-

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<sup>21</sup>For an outline of the politics involved when reconstructing "pure" Mormonism, see Thomas G. Alexander, "The Past as Decline from a Golden Age: Early Mormonism's Restorationist Tendency," and D. Michael Quinn, "'My Eyes Were Holden in Those Days': A Study of Selective Memory," both in *The William E. McLellin Papers, 1854–1880*, edited by Stan Larson and Samuel J. Passey (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 2007), 49–58, 59–82 respectively.

cession debates; but interpreted through the prism of the Twelve's priesthood linkages, it had significant latent possibilities.

Ironically echoing the argument of the defeated Sidney Rigdon sixteen months earlier, Hyde reasoned that no one could replace Joseph Smith as leader of the Church and that there really was no change in how the Church functioned after Smith's death. "Suppose I have a house with several rooms in it," Hyde mused. "If I go in a room by myself, am I out of my house? No. So it is with Joseph Smith. He is gone into another room." This common-sense reasoning, significantly grounded in Smith's revealed text itself, provided a creative foundation for one of the Twelve's succession claims, for it dismissed many of Strang's claims and, in the end, reaffirmed an ecclesiastical structure of which Smith was presumably still the center. If Smith remained at the head of the Church, then the structure that was in place before his death—implying the Quorum of the Twelve as second-in-command—remained the guiding principles of Church government.<sup>22</sup>

This idea expanded and realized the proclaimed "collapse of the sacred" in early Mormonism, specifically the disappearance of the veil. As Samuel M. Brown has persuasively argued, the "conquest of death" was at the center of Smith's soteriological vision, as sealing ordinances, a familial-based heaven, and a collapsed ontology served to close the distance between life and death.<sup>23</sup> While this idea had radical theological implications, it could also be used, as Hyde employed it in March 1846, as an ecclesiastical argument designed to block competing authoritative claims and reaffirm what was then considered to be the "orthodox" succession position. Mormonism's radical redefinition of the afterlife had profound implications, or at least rhetorical potential, in the debates over how the Church was to be governed on earth.

It is significant that Hyde, as a member of the Quorum of the Twelve, could now afford a rhetorical strategy that assumed their ec-

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<sup>22</sup>Orson Hyde's response to Rigdon's claims are found in "Trial of Elder Rigdon," 649–51, 653. For this trial and its relevancy to the succession debates and temple ordinances, see Ehat, "Joseph Smith's Introduction of Temple Ordinances," 189–236.

<sup>23</sup>Brown, *In Heaven as It Is on Earth*. See also Terryl L. Givens, *People of Paradox: A History of Mormon Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 37–52.



clesiastical primacy, because their argument self-perpetuated its own position: Implying that the same authoritative structure that existed during Smith's life was continued after his death, as Hyde reasoned, meant that the Twelve's authoritative position was taken for granted as the established ecclesiology in late Nauvoo. This position was an important rhetorical shift from even fifteen months previous, when the Twelve, though with some ecclesiastical precedent in Nauvoo, were considered merely one possibility in the competing claims for Mormonism's leadership. By capitalizing on the trust and responsibility that Smith had placed on them during the last three years of his life and by stretching that responsibility beyond this life into the next, the Twelve were able to cement their succession claims through arguing ecclesiastical continuity. By 1846, Hyde's position was a position of power, and his argument reflected an assumption that the quorum was the favorite rather than the challenger. This assumption was grounded in increased authority in the early Nauvoo period, over a year of dominance in Church headquarters following Smith's death, and, as we argue below, their possession of the Nauvoo Temple—which came to serve as the trump card in the game of succession.<sup>24</sup>

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*This is no church but is a Kingdom. They may cry poor Pussy & want to cry Treason. . . . There was once a time when the fragments were more than the meal. We will gather up the fragments. Joseph Smith is the Hook in Heaven, the 12 are the next link & you are all linked on.—Orson Hyde*

Hyde's third rhetorical strategy was the increasingly prominent symbol of "keys." A central message of early Mormonism was the possibility of personal revelation: the idea that each individual had access to the divine. While the emphasis on this principle was tempered by an expanding hierarchical structure, it entailed a trajectory that, for many outsiders, bordered on revelatory anarchy. The implications of such an egalitarian religious structure, most extensively drawn out by religious

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<sup>24</sup>For an overview of how the Twelve solidified control in Nauvoo, see Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, a People of Promise* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002).

scholar Nathan Hatch, appeared at the acme of Jacksonian culture.<sup>25</sup> Individual mobility and republican rhetoric dominated movements like Mormonism that were nourished by democratic culture. James Strang and other competitors claimed that Brigham Young was forgetting this significant Mormon tradition with their authoritarian claims and centralized power.

Hyde argued that Smith's revelatory position was not being "trampled," but rather that it had evolved into the esoteric rituals of the temple—the climax, according to Hyde, of Smith's prophetic career. Through temple ordinances, the Church was still linked to Smith and the fountain of revelation. "Joseph Smith is the Hook in Heaven," Hyde asserted, "the 12 [are] the next link—& you [are] all linked on." This hierarchical structure, which was realized and reaffirmed through the ordinances later associated with the Nauvoo Temple, helped to centralize authority and knowledge within a framework controlled by the Twelve.

With the Twelve, the rites of the Nauvoo Temple became the standard of all knowledge and validity. It was only through the priesthood keys that the fountain of knowledge could continue. Indeed, the term "keys," a term that served several different purposes for Joseph Smith, came to be the dominant descriptor for salvific truth and specifically meant priesthood dominion—a move that demonstrates the lengths to which the Twelve routinized soteriological and epistemological authority. Smith's revelations had laid the foundation, but now the temple ordinances ritualized and fulfilled that spirit and message. "I asked Elder Page the other day," Hyde mused, "which is the greater, this Book (the D&C) or the Spirit that gave it?" For the previous year, the Twelve had emphasized temple ordinances as the apex of this spirit of revelation. Because this debate between Hyde and Page took place mere weeks after fifty-six hundred Saints experienced these salvific ordinances, and the fact that the discourse was given in the very shadow of the Nauvoo Temple, would have underscored the connection between "knowledge" and "priesthood keys," and further confirmed the apostles' succession claims. Knowledge could and

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<sup>25</sup>Hatch, *The Democratization of American Christianity*, esp. 113–22; Gordon S. Wood, "Evangelical America and Early Mormonism," *New York History* 61 (October 1980): 359–86; Kenneth Winn, *Exiles in a Land of Liberty: Mormons in America, 1830–1836* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989).

would be gained through reason and revelation, but it could only be confirmed through priesthood rites.

In this sense, Mormonism's canonicity expanded to include not only recorded revelations but also experiential rituals. While Smith himself had made the connection between priesthood keys and knowledge, he did so sporadically and without systematic precision; and while Smith himself introduced the temple ordinances that the Twelve would emphasize, these rituals did not gain importance with average Latter-day Saints until after the Twelve took control. They introduced their apostolic control of the temple in the charged climate of succession debates and centralized power. It is impossible to conjecture the implications of how Smith would have expanded his private rituals into larger availability for the average Saint, but it is possible to trace how the rituals' introduction served the Quorum of the Twelve's succession claims.

By placing the temple and priesthood keys at the center of Mormonism's epistemological claims, the Twelve succeeded in establishing a theological framework in which their claims triumphed over all others. By holding the keys to the temple, both literally and symbolically, Brigham Young and the apostles held the keys to salvation and knowledge. But in doing so, they dictated that Joseph Smith's revelatory legacy would be understood in a way that led first and foremost to the future temple rituals—ceremonies that were not introduced until two years before his death and not made public until shortly after his murder. What had been a set of secret rituals limited to a small circle of initiates—though they planned to have larger participation once the Nauvoo Temple was completed—was now the only path through which one could gain salvific knowledge.<sup>26</sup> Previous Mormon rhetoric concerning revelation hinged on what Parley Pratt termed the “Fountain of Knowledge,” meaning dialogic revelation through a personal connection to deity; now the “fountain” was more to be experienced rather than merely learned. While this adapted framework of revelatory knowledge threatened to routinize what had hitherto been a dynamic understanding of truth, it succeeded in centering epistemological power in Brigham Young and the Twelve and attaching be-

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<sup>26</sup>Kathleen Flake, “‘Not to Be Riten’: The Mormon Temple Rite as Oral Canon,” *Journal of Ritual Studies* 9, no. 2 (Summer 1995): 1–21; Brown, *In Heaven as It Is on Earth*, 170–202.

lievers to a unified religious movement.<sup>27</sup>

And thus, the hallmark of what came to be known as the Brighamite response to the succession crisis was emphasizing Mormonism's theocratic view of the cosmos. John Page's biggest problem, Hyde reasoned at the end of the first day of debate, was that he mistook Mormonism for a "church" rather than a "kingdom." The structure of a "church" could be debated, challenged, and even reformed through the democratic voice of the people or a charismatic leader. A kingdom, on the other hand, offered stability through an authoritative hierarchy centered on rites and power, a position that Orson Hyde and the Twelve claimed in 1846 once their position was accepted as orthodox. While similar sentiments could certainly be found in Joseph Smith's own sermons and private teachings, nothing approached the tenacity and consistency of kingdom-centered discourse during the immediate post-martyrdom period. Smith's fragments of temple rituals and theology, introduced to his inner circle, were intended to anoint "kings and priests" and extend exaltation to all those worthy followers. Brigham Young and the Twelve adapted and expanded those teachings to solidify their claims of succession and stabilize a fledgling faith within a tumultuous republican and democratic climate.<sup>28</sup>

This theocratic vision served not only as a reaction to the succession debates of Nauvoo, but also as a critique of the broader tumultuous and vibrant culture that was antebellum America. While many religions, including many faiths competing over Smith's crown, sought to become more democratic in knowledge, power, and authority, the Twelve centralized those elements in a way that brought stability in the face of both internal and external influences. Brigham Young and

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<sup>27</sup>See Parley P. Pratt, "The Fountain of Knowledge," in Pratt, *An Appeal to the Inhabitants of the State of New York, Letter to Queen Victoria* (Reprinted from the Tenth European Edition,) *The Fountain of Knowledge; Immortality of the Body, and Intelligence and Affection* (Nauvoo, Ill.: John Taylor, Printer, 1844). For "dialogic revelation," see Terryl L. Givens, *By the Hand of Mormon: The American Scripture that Launched a New World Religion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 209–39.

<sup>28</sup>See Amanda Porterfield, *Conceived in Doubt: Religion and Politics in the New American Nation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012). For a fuller exploration, see Benjamin E. Park, "Theocracy, Authority, Patriarchy: Early Mormonism and Democratic Culture," unpublished paper.

his fellow apostles drew on—even enhanced—the fears and misgivings of certain segments of an American society in which the excesses of democracy were well known. Hesitant about the new path upon which American culture was embarking, the Twelve systematized the Prophet's theology by emphasizing elements that paved the way for the later Utah theocracy. And in doing so, they vocalized a strain of American reservations about the cultural revolution that, while originally promising equality and empowerment, now appeared on the brink of anarchy and instability.<sup>29</sup>

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During Page's sermon in March, he claimed that "ever since I have been engaged in Mormonism I have driven the gentiles to the letter of the book in which they have believed, having the example of Joseph, the 12, & the authorities of the church." What Page failed to realize as problematic was that Joseph Smith left many authoritative texts at his death, resulting in conflicting directions drawn from different, but equally valid, interpretations. Page's version of Mormonism called for an acknowledgment and embracing of that tension, while the Twelve called for a structure and theological approach that completely jettisoned that tension. The debate in March of 1846 not only provides an important microcosm of the succession crisis among the many interpretations of Mormonism but exemplifies the broader antebellum culture.

On March 10, 1846, Orson Hyde wrote to Brigham Young a report of his dealings with Page and the religion he represented. Tellingly, he proclaimed: "Strangism and Pageism were blown into annihilation by the Spirit and power of God through your humble servant and brother." Hyde's remark was more than mere "humble" boasting. Hyde increasingly dismissed and ignored the competing claims, a strategy that Young and others of the Twelve took toward schismatic

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<sup>29</sup>For the political and cultural tumult of the period, see Yonatan Eyal, *The Young American Movement and the Transformation of the Democratic Party, 1828–1861* (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Daniel Walker Howe, *What Hath God Wrought: The Transformation of America, 1815–1848* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 411–45; Marshall Foletta, *Coming to Terms with Democracy: Federalist Intellectuals and the Shaping of an American Culture* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2001).

groups for at least the following decade. Young and the Twelve that followed him established a culture in which any tension based on competing Joseph Smith ideas and texts could no longer exist. Smith was still at the head of the Church, though the Twelve were at the head of the earthly institution. The kingdom-theology of the Church established a hierarchy within which strict obedience was crucial, and a close dependency upon New Testament readings contributed to an organization that disdained paradoxes, ambiguities, or tensions.

On March 14, four days after his letter to Young, Hyde received and printed his own revelation for the people of Nauvoo and the other “Churches” of Mormonism. Hyde, troubled and meditating upon the “false pretences by evil designing persons to gain power, [to] lead away the flock of God,” was told in his revelation that the Twelve were indeed chosen by God and that Strang “cursed my [the Lord’s] people by his own spirit and not by mine [and] Never, at any time, have I appointed that wicked man to lead my people, neither by my own voice, nor by the voice of my servant, Joseph Smith.” Hyde’s revelation clarified the place of the people in the Twelve’s view of the Church. Though some, including Page, felt that Hyde and the other Twelve were taking advantage of a strict hierarchical structure, Hyde’s revelation stated otherwise. “The worthy shall have their rights. . . . But the unworthy have no rights except these: Repentance or condemnation.”<sup>30</sup>

For Hyde, Mormons who followed the counsel of the Twelve maintained their rights as members of the Church and even spoke with God’s voice, but those who did not forfeited their rights as citizens of the kingdom of God. The Twelve’s hierarchical structure of Mormonism opened up the rights and alleviated the tensions of members—as long as those members adopted and accepted the Twelve’s model. The revelation’s closing words served as the final word on the matter: “Let there be no more disputes or contentions among you about doctrine or principle, neither who shall be greatest, but hearken to those things which I have spoken unto you, and which have before been given and you shall rest in my kingdom, and have

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<sup>30</sup>[Orson Hyde,] “He That Hath Ears to Hear, Let Him Hear What the Spirit Saith unto the Church,” [Nauvoo, Ill., March 1846], broadside, LDS Church History Library.



glory and honor forever and ever.”<sup>31</sup> Leaving the unfaithful outside the established order of Mormonism gave Orson Hyde the opportunity of disregarding their actions.

But this establishment of a strict hierarchical structure was a model against the grain of the larger antebellum culture of individuality, republicanism, and democracy. Page recognized this resistance when he viewed what Hyde was presenting. Speaking as much from an American culture as from a Mormon one, he told his audience on March 3: “You are without a head, a revelator, or seer—you are a body without a head & I would not have a red cent over for it—& I would just go & join the most popular sect that I could.”

Page’s rejection of the version of Mormonism presented by Hyde and the Twelve was the embodiment of antebellum individualist culture helped along by his distance from his former quorum. Page’s willingness to “shop around” for another religion represents the pattern of many individuals who went from Mormon group to group. Their dissatisfaction in religious choices was not just about Mormon theology; it was also about finding a Mormon body that could align with their antebellum sensibilities. The succession crisis, then, was more than a crisis of Mormon succession. It was a radical realignment of cultures. Mormonism—especially the schism that remained within the borders of America—was more of an American religion than most realized.

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

## REVIEWS

Veda Tebbs Hale. *"Swell Suffering": A Biography of Maurine Whipple*. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2011. 457 pp. Foreword, photographs, notes, index. Paper: \$31.95. ISBN: 978-1-58958-124-1

*Reviewed by Lisa Olsen Tait and Lynne Larson*

At the end of her remarkable novel, *The Giant Joshua*, Maurine Whipple describes the ultimate triumph of the southern Utah pioneers through the eyes of the book's heroine, Clory MacIntyre:

The torch was lit, even if it were only a tallow slut. Life would go on . . . . She saw them, the whole heroic cavalcade, marching toward the deathless stars. And she knew with an ancient exultation (she who had never been farther than Cedar Fort, to be in all the history books!) that she would not have changed a moment of it. Tomahawk and war whoop, bran mush and lucerne greens, Virgin bloat, the Year of the Plagues, the Reign of Terror. She felt a detached pity for the generations yet to come who couldn't plan and build a world.<sup>1</sup>

Whipple herself was no stranger to soaring achievement in the midst of grinding desperation. In *"Swell Suffering": A Biography of Maurine Whipple*, Veda Tebbs Hale paints a sympathetic and in-depth portrait of a life filled with bitter disappointment and self-destructive behavior, lived in the shadow, perhaps, of that "heroic cavalcade" Whipple once brought so powerfully to life.

A St. George resident during Whipple's final years, Hale had extraordinary access to her subject, forming a strong friendship and coaxing first-hand details from Maurine's rich and colorful memories, including her national celebrity as Houghton Mifflin's prestigious fiction fellowship winner for 1938, an award that allowed her to produce *The Giant Joshua*. Hale also became very

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<sup>1</sup>Maurine Whipple, *The Giant Joshua* (1945; rpt., Salt Lake City: Western Epics, 1976), 672.

familiar with Whipple's blunt opinions, her abrasive personality, and her defensiveness over her inability to finish a planned sequel to her masterpiece, originally scheduled to be the first of a trilogy. Hale also assisted in sorting Whipple's collected letters, manuscripts, and papers for Brigham Young University's archives, a wealth of material covering the writer's life from youth to old age. Most of all, Hale remained close to Maurine until her death in 1992, in spite of the challenges, developing rich insights that shape and inform her biography. The Mormon History Association awarded it the Ella Larsen Turner-Ella Ruth Turner Bergera Best Biography for 2012.

In the midst of the much-discussed "Mormon Moment" of the early twenty-first century, we may forget that there was another such "moment" of sorts in the 1940s. Starting in 1939 with Vardis Fisher's *Children of God: An American Epic* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939), which won the prestigious Harper Prize, twenty or more novels with Mormon themes appeared by the end of the decade, many focused, like *Joshua*, on the pioneer experience.<sup>2</sup> As assessed by Edward A. Geary, these novels are rooted in their authors' attempts to come to terms with their Mormon heritage. Like the writers of the "Lost Generation" of Americans after the Great War, these Mormon novelists were driven by "ambivalence towards a tradition which seems to have failed yet which still offers the only available spiritual anchor against a tide of meaninglessness."<sup>3</sup>

*The Giant Joshua* is considered by many to be the best novel to emerge from this movement—perhaps even the best Mormon novel ever written. From its opening paragraph, which introduces Whipple's memorable main character—"Although the surface of the rock was yet warm, its inner chill soon began to penetrate Clory's body"—to its final crescendo as Clory realizes divine affirmation in the form of the "Great Smile," Whipple's literary genius shines through. Hale set out to find the source of that genius and the reason that it flowered only once. Hale takes her title from a comment made by John Peale Bishop, a nationally known writer and talent scout who met Maurine Whipple when she was one of his students at the Rocky Mountain Writers' Conference in 1937. Impressed with the talent shown in one of her early stories, Bishop would be the one to connect Whipple with Houghton Mifflin Publishing, setting in motion the process that would culminate four years later in the publication of *The Giant Joshua*. At the 1937 conference, as Hale describes it, Maurine (then a thirty-four-year-old schoolteacher) "poured the ashes and cinders of her failed life" into Bishop's sympathetic ear. In response to this "towering tale

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<sup>2</sup>Edward A. Geary, "Mormondom's Lost Generation: The Novelists of the 1940s," *BYU Studies* 18, no.1 (Fall 1977): 90.

<sup>3</sup>*Ibid.*, 92.

of woe," Bishop exclaimed, "My God! What swell suffering! Great literature is born from suffering like that!" (1).

Hale's biography recounts much of that suffering, as well as Whipple's preoccupation with it, offering for her explanation of Whipple's ultimate failure to produce any more "great literature" the following analysis: "Maurine wanted to be rescued. And she wanted that rescuer to be a fascinating man. She wanted to be rescued from the social limitations of her life. Rescued from the poverty of her past and foreseeable future. Rescued from her spinsterhood. . . . [S]he never gave up hoping that the next man in her life would solve her problems" (1). When that rescue never occurred, Whipple could not find the inner strength or discipline to build a viable career on her first big success, instead pursuing a string of disastrous romances and seemingly sabotaging every literary opportunity with her neediness and inability to complete anything.

Hale's biography is written in a strong first-person voice, becoming part-narrative of Whipple's life, part-memoir of Hale's own attempts to come to grips with that life and its contradictions—what Hale aptly calls "Maurine's self-pity contrasted with her ability to capture hard-edged narrative reality" (105). "There I was holding pages," Hale writes of one encounter with Whipple's papers, "one side filled with a desperate scrawl that I could hardly make myself read because of the extravagant, painful rambling, while on the other side, written by the same person, appeared tight, wonderful prose capturing the spirit of human accomplishment and transforming pain." Hale recognizes the literary talent others saw in Whipple but assesses with clear-eyed perception: "It was hard then and is still hard now to accommodate the two Maurines" (106).

Hale's task was made much harder by several factors. Hale did not become acquainted with Whipple until Maurine was eighty-seven and already far gone in age and cognition, making her recollections spotty and hard to connect. Moreover, Whipple's papers were more or less in disarray, having been haphazardly collected in boxes and shuffled between various living situations. A large collection was donated to the Harold B. Lee Library at BYU in 1983 when Whipple was "too old and infirm" to sort them (ix), while still other materials emerged after 1983, having been "overlooked in odd boxes" (xi). Other papers and memorabilia were lost in a burglary of Whipple's home in 1970, though she could never give a very satisfactory account of what those materials might have been (282–83). Given these limitations, Hale's reconstruction of Whipple's life and work should be credited as an impressive and painstaking accomplishment.

Still, Hale's work may impress only a limited number of readers. Those who love *The Giant Joshua* will perhaps be engrossed in Whipple's life story, saddened that the woman who put Utah's Dixie so triumphantly on the national literary map felt only loneliness and rejection in her beloved home-

town. Those readers will appreciate Whipple's achievement in giving Mormon literature a jewel of a novel, in spite of so many circumstances that left its author personally flawed and broken. However, those who haven't read the novel, or who don't care for it, may find tedium in Hale's 430-page account of Whipple's complex, self-destructive descent into bitterness and paranoia.

Other readers—including those of a more historiographical bent—may wish that Hale had included more historical context and background in her narrative. Hale begins her book with a brief but apt comparison of Maurine Whipple to Margaret Mitchell, author of *Gone with the Wind*, whose book preceded Whipple's by only a few years and whose life paralleled hers in interesting ways (2). From there, however, the focus is primarily (if understandably) on Whipple herself, with psychological analysis dominating the narrative, leaving little room for broader questions. Other than a passing mention of Edward Geary's article about the "lost generation" of Mormon writers (387), Hale does not explore the significance of the moment in which Whipple's writing took place and its relationship to the broader developments in Mormon culture and history.

Likewise, there is little assessment of the historiographical implications of Whipple's novel. Hale's analysis focuses on the psychological. The "silver question that shines through the entire novel," she says, is the dilemma of whether "these Mormons' faith is strong enough for its members to withstand each and every knee-buckling blow of fate" (129). Again privileging the psychological, she characterizes Maurine Whipple's writing process as "a tool for dealing with her own life. . . . In creating Clory, she wrote the woman she wanted to be," Hale asserts (130).

These analyses are apt as far as they go, but much more could be said about the image of the Mormon past created in *The Giant Joshua*. Was this novel part of the "ritualization of Mormon history"<sup>4</sup> then arguably at its zenith in Mormon culture? Or was it, as some relatives and townsfolk seem to have believed, a resistance to that process? How could a work that was so widely perceived as "epic" and favorable to the public image of the Latter-day Saints have been viewed so negatively inside the community? Whipple was deeply wounded by a negative review written by Apostle John A. Widtsoe that characterized the book as "straining for the lurid" and which took exception to Whipple's portrayal of polygamy (183). She interpreted these remarks as rejection by the Church and internalized them in a way that seems to have contributed to her strategies of self-sabotage in the ensuing decades (184).

It seems that larger theories of history and historical representation were in

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<sup>4</sup>See Davis Bitton, "The Ritualization of Mormon History," in Bitton, *The Ritualization of Mormon History and Other Essays* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 171–87.

play in this conflict, and it would have been nice to see Hale address such questions, if only briefly. Here it would be necessary to look at Maurine not just as a product of her family and individual psyche but also as a member of a larger generation—the third generation of Mormons for whom the pioneer experience loomed large but who no longer had any personal connection to that experience. Whipple’s skepticism and feelings of rejection by the community may represent one trajectory of that generation’s experience, as intimated in Geary’s assessment.

Despite these limitations from a historical and contextual perspective, however, *Swell Suffering* succeeds well as a study of an individual writer encompassed by personal demons and external setbacks. Hale’s biography follows the sensitive young Maurine through her childhood, where her intellectual brilliance is evident, together with an early resentment over the perceived rejection of her family by the St. George social elites. Thinking of herself as an outcast, Maurine still thoroughly absorbs the rhythms of Dixie culture, its history, its religion, its mystique. She learns its folklore, its stories, its secrets; and by the time she leaves for Salt Lake City and the University of Utah in 1922, Dixie owns her soul.

After her graduation in 1926, Maurine tries her hand at small-town teaching in Idaho and central Utah, but a series of mostly negative experiences with classroom discipline and school district politics leaves her frustrated. No school ever hired her for a second year. Anxious to marry and have children, Maurine’s real interest is in finding a loving husband, and this obsession throws her destructively into several unsuccessful relationships with men whom she smothers with her neediness until they manage to come up for air and run away. Readers may cringe at her cloying efforts to reclaim lovers who have rejected her or wince at her troubled relationship with her parents, particularly her father, Charlie, who shamed the family by openly courting other women even as he remained married to Annie McAllister, Maurine’s mother, for fifty-five years. Maurine Whipple was a woman who desperately wanted to overcome that shame, to be loved and appreciated.

Ironically, even as she yearned to be “rescued” from her provincial hometown, it was a setting and environment she also cherished, much as she did her dysfunctional family who offered little understanding of her aspirations but who repeatedly took her back into the family home for shelter and services, particularly from her mother. Hale chronicles all of these threads with both sympathy and objective perception, knowing, with astute readers, that in spite of her character flaws and undermining obsessions, Maurine Whipple had a hugely redeeming quality. She could write—beautifully, honestly, perceptively. Her genius did not flourish easily, and Hale’s description of Whipple’s labor-intensive efforts to produce *The Giant Joshua* in her bedroom at the family home, with machinery grinding noisily outside, prodded



gently but relentlessly by her editor at Houghton Mifflin, reminds us that great art requires great perseverance.

Moreover, her gift did not provide her with the love and support of her neighbors she so keenly desired. With her harsh and realistic approach to polygamy, Whipple sullied her hometown's image for many of its residents, who never forgave her, even as she made it glow for outsiders. Whipple's inability to follow *Joshua* with a promised sequel, though she made several painful attempts to do so, has long raised the question of whether *Joshua* was a fluke, an aberration, a burst of creativity from a woman who—like many other brilliant but flawed artists—gave all she had just once and had nothing left thereafter. A few short stories and some non-fiction pieces publicizing the beauty of southern Utah were all she was able to produce in the remaining forty years of her life following *Joshua*'s success. The energy, concentration, and focus required for another grand novel seems to have dissipated as Maurine's personal demons took precedence over the redeeming success she once enjoyed and desperately needed again.

Veda Hale balances analysis of these demons with appreciation for Whipple's genius and admiration for that "whole heroic cavalcade" that comes to life through Whipple's pen: Clory, Abijah, Bathsheba, Willie, and all the others, including the noble Erastus Snow and, of course, Brigham Young. "Its richness of narrative texture, the vividness of its characters, and its forthright treatment of the rigors of both pioneering and polygamy have ensured that it has never lacked for enthusiastic admirers," writes Hale of *The Giant Joshua* (ix). Because Hale felt so strongly about the book and its author, those of us who count ourselves among the admirers can come to know and appreciate Maurine Whipple and her gift, evidenced in the powerful closing passages of the novel: "Some day the pioneers who had lived and loved and fought would all be nothing more than names carved on stones for curious children to read, sprinkle idly with flowers . . . and dash shouting on by. Someday her house would be dust . . . but she knew with a sureness like a loved handclasp that above the dust there would still be a pulsing in the air on bright moonlit nights—the remembered throb of a heart."<sup>5</sup>

These were Clory's thoughts as she looked back on her life and her story, and they were Maurine Whipple's thoughts as she finished her book. Hale sums up the same feeling on the final page of the biography: "*The Giant Joshua* and the story of the unusual woman who wrote it will live long after many guardians of the red hills have come and gone, after many other books are written . . . and Clory will laugh down through the centuries, reminding us of how insignificant suffering and disappointment are, when we once be-

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<sup>5</sup>Whipple, *The Giant Joshua*, 632.

come aware of ‘the Great Smile’” (430).

Veda Hale’s book about that “unusual woman” goes a long way in making that awareness more vivid, and ultimately affirming, for us all.

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Winston Groom. *Kearny’s March: The Epic Creation of the American West, 1846–1847*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2011. 310 pp. Maps, photos, index. Cloth: \$27.95; ISBN 978–0–307–27096–2

*Reviewed by Sherman L. Fleek*

I loved the movie *Forrest Gump* so much that I later read the novel by the same name. It was the only time for me that a film was much better than the book. The same is true with Winston Groom’s *Kearny’s March*; I am waiting for the movie.

After writing a few novels that can be best described as humor and satire, Groom switched to narrative history and has published several books that have had some commercial success. He focused on military history in his *1942* (the American forces in North Africa in World War II), *A Storm in Flanders* (World War I), and *Vicksburg, 1863* (the great battle of the American Civil War). His latest foray into military history is *Kearny’s March*. Any book, no matter how poor or inadequate, about Brigadier General Stephen W. Kearny and his relatively unknown Army of the West is an important move in the right direction to me. I recognize and salute Winston Groom’s time and effort in researching and writing about what I consider to be one of the most significant campaigns in American history. Unfortunately, it would have been much better if the history and interpretation had been accurate.

The battles, service, and grueling marches of this small army were remarkable. General Kearny was perhaps the greatest antebellum frontier army officer in the U.S. Army. He led a 3,500-man force that invaded and conquered what became the states of California, Nevada, Utah, Arizona, New Mexico, and parts of a few others. As the Mexican War (1846–48) has been overshadowed by the Civil War, fought a dozen years later, the Army of the West has been eclipsed by the major campaigns along the Texas border and Major General Winfield Scott’s invasion of central Mexico and capture of Mexico City in 1847.

Other books have narrated parts of Kearny’s campaign, but no one has

done a complete and high-quality study of the Army of the West. This small army had some of the most interesting and also unique units in United States history. For example, its Mormon Battalion is the only religious unit in American military history. There were two regiments of Missouri volunteers commanded by diametrically opposite citizen soldiers from Missouri. Colonel Alexander Doniphan, who assisted the Mormons in the small civil disturbance of 1838, commanded the 1st Regiment of Missouri Mounted Volunteers. Colonel Sterling Price, a Mormon hater, commanded the 2nd Missouri Mounted. Both of these men knew Joseph Smith, and their attitude toward the Mormons who served with them under Kearny differed drastically.

Another aspect of the Army of the West was the New York volunteers, who sailed around Cape Horn and arrived in California in March 1847, another fascinating story about which Groom did not write one word.

This army had other amazing personalities, such as the ever-popular explorer John C. Frémont, who challenged Kearny for the governorship of California; famous frontiersman Kit Carson; Jean Baptiste Charbonneau, son of Sacagawea, the Indian woman of Lewis and Clark fame; U.S. marine Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie; Commodore Robert Stockton, U.S. Navy; and finally the infamous John D. Lee, later executed as the mastermind behind the mass murder at Mountain Meadows.

Any student of Manifest Destiny, the Mexican War, and the history of the West has read or should read the great classic *The Year of Decision: 1846* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1942), by Pulitzer Prize winner Bernard DeVoto. And obviously Groom had also read it. I found it impossible to miss the connection—verging on outright replication of DeVoto, at least in themes and structure. There is no doubt that Groom was motivated in part by this classic because he not only follows Kearny's army into California and Doniphan's campaign south into Chihuahua, but he also included most of the major events of 1846, again like DeVoto. True, Groom goes beyond 1846 in dealing with the Donner party's ordeal in the Sierra Nevada, November 1846 to April 1847, the short-lived Bear Flag Republic (1846), and Brigham Young's vanguard expedition west in 1847. Logically, DeVoto's title and thesis fit 1846, while Groom's loosely connected events fail to make a coherent whole. The Donner party's tragedy had nothing to do with Kearny's conquest of the West, even though, as a sort of historical postscript, his eastbound party buried the Donner dead and burned their cabins. Groom's chapter on the Bear Flag Republic and Frémont's intervention was so weak that, for a moment, I thought I was reading an account about another Mexican state also named California.

After recounting the Donner party's demise, for a reason I could not fathom, Groom launched out in an unrelated direction and described the battle of Monterrey in northern Mexico fought September 22–23, 1846, by an entirely separate army from Kearny's and under a completely separate com-

mand (Zachary Taylor's). Monterrey did not become part of the United States, unlike the lands Kearny captured. This detour will just confuse the reader because none of the main players—Kearny, Frémont, Price, or Doniphan—was involved in this battle.

Other than rehashing the stories of Kearny's army, this book makes no substantive contribution, and there is no evidence of new and original research. There is a bibliography of sorts, but no footnotes. He depends too heavily for quotations and comments from historical figures on the *Niles Register*, a weekly magazine that went defunct shortly after the Mexican War. Although magazines and newspapers are great sources for color and the spirit of the era, they are not the best source for establishing facts. A surprisingly large body of diaries and personal accounts is available about this particular episode in the westward saga; but except for Susan Magoffin's amazing diary and her adventures along the Santa Fe trail, Groom overlooked most of them. The Mormon Battalion alone has some eighty journals from a unit of 500 men, but Groom used only one battalion journalist, Henry Bigler.

Maps are the bread and butter of military history, but Groom's are consistently weak. One places Nauvoo in Missouri (unpaginated). The battle of San Gabriel River, fought on January 8, 1847, is mislocated near Fresno; it was actually near Los Angeles. The second map depicting the battle of Sacramento in Chihuahua is also wrong. The Mexican positions were oriented west and not to the north. I know, because I have walked the ground.

Groom does not have a chronology, another invaluable tool of the historian—but that may be just as well because the dates are shockingly wrong. Kearny did not march out of Santa Fe on September 5, 1846 (139) but on September 25, which Groom contradicts on page 149. The declaration of war was on May 13, 1846, not May 11 (28), a date which he corrects later (54). He dates the signing of the Missouri Compromise of 1820 as 1821 (8) and credits James Polk's administration as securing the annexation of Texas as the twenty-seventh state, when in fact it occurred under President John Tyler. He states that Doniphan's campaign into Chihuahua and the battle of Sacramento were in February 1847. Groom wrote, "While Doniphan's force was savoring its victory, Kearny's greatly reduced Army of the West was six hundred miles away, straining toward California" (185), which is true. But what is also true is that Kearny's march across Arizona was five months earlier.

Groom narrated a decent account of the Saints' entrance into the Great Basin and the Valley of the Great Salt Lake, but he ignored the most important early exploration of this region, conducted by Captain Benjamin Bonneville in 1832–33. The Bonneville Salt Flats bear his name, along with the prehistoric Lake Bonneville and geographical features as far north as Idaho. How could a serious author/historian skip this major event and its outcome? Groom tried to make Marine Lieutenant Archibald Gillespie's rather com-

mon journey to California to find Frémont in April 1846 to deliver oral instructions and personal letters into a James Bond-style “secret mission.” He relies on his gifts as a novelist by indulging in tantalizing and speculative—but ultimately baseless—interpretation.

Groom’s treatment of Latter-day Saints in this book, like DeVoto before him, is generous and fair. He did his best to describe the Mormon contribution accurately. But he does not understand the Mormon story nor place it in its correct historical context. He relied too much on secondary sources.

As a military historian, I was thoroughly unimpressed with Groom’s grasp of military terminology and his ability to narrate a military campaign. He called the Pacific Squadron of six vessels “the Pacific Fleet,” as if they were anchored at Pearl Harbor awaiting the Japanese attack. Then he replaced “Fleet” by the more accurate “squadron.” He called the British men-o-war “battle-ships,” a term not in use in the American navy in the 1840s (101). The 1st U.S. Dragoons became the 1st Cavalry (7), a unit that was not formed until 1855. He provided no narration on training, equipment, and tactics. He failed to describe the Mexican forces pitted against the Americans except to acknowledge that they were “astounding horsemen” (203). His analysis of who won the small and indecisive battle of San Pasqual on December 6, 1846, lacked any analysis of who held the initiative and the tactical advantage, who maintained combat power, and how the engagement affected the ability of both combatants to conduct future operations. Who was reacting to whom, and did Kearny accomplish his mission? The answer is yes, Kearny reached his goal of San Diego, bloodied but not beaten. In the discussion of San Pasqual, Groom did make a simple order of battle that helps the readers understand the units and formation involved in the battle. Unfortunately, he got the number of troops wrong at several points.

The major flaw of this book is the author and not the topic. Kearny’s campaign and the acquisition of these lands is a tremendous story. Winston Groom is an engaging writer and often turns a great sentence, but he is out of his league. He is not a historian; he is not trained in the art. His analysis and interpretation are pedestrian and prosaic, or nonexistent. It is obvious that he did not develop or employ the necessary tools that underlie competent history, among them a detailed chronology and accurate maps.

Obviously, the problems began with inadequate research on Groom’s part; but equally obviously, he received inadequate assistance from the press’s readers and its copy-editors.

I cannot recommend this book, even though I frequently enjoyed the passion in some of its purple prose. Groom’s failure was a tragedy for me, because I really wanted an outstanding and accurate history of a general, his army, and a significant campaign that has been not accorded its due in historical circles and public at large.

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Hugh J. Cannon. Edited by Reid L. Neilson. *To the Peripheries of Mormonism: The Apostolic Around-the-World Journey of David O. McKay, 1920–1921*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 2011. xxxii, 244 pp. Photographs, maps, notes, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$29.95; ISBN 978-1-60781-010-0

*Reviewed by Gregory A. Prince*

Since the early days of Heber J. Grant's tenure in the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, he had favored an epic journey by a member of that quorum who would circumnavigate the globe and survey the Church's foreign missions. He volunteered for the journey himself while presiding over the newly opened Japanese Mission in 1901 but instead was called to serve a mission in Great Britain. Shortly after becoming Church president, Grant chose a surrogate for the journey. In 1920 he announced, "Now Elder [David O.] McKay is to take the trip which I then advocated. He will make a general survey of the missions, study conditions there, gather data concerning them, and in short, obtain general information in order that there may be some one in the deliberations of the First Presidency and the Council of the Twelve thoroughly familiar with actual conditions."<sup>1</sup>

Accompanied by Hugh J. Cannon, president of the Liberty Stake, McKay embarked in late 1920 on a year-long voyage of over 60,000 miles that took them around the world and to most of the Church's foreign missions, a journey whose ripple effects informed McKay's presidency three decades later. Both men kept diaries, and Cannon periodically wrote articles that were published by the *Deseret News* throughout their journey.

Shortly after returning home, Cannon and McKay agreed that the journey should be chronicled in a book. Cannon took the lead and completed a manuscript intended for publication, but his unexpected death in 1931 resulted in a seventy-four-year delay, despite attempts first by his widow and then by his children to publish it. In 2005, Cannon's children finally published their father's manuscript as *David O. McKay around the World: An Apostolic Mission. Prelude to Church Globalization* (Provo, Utah: Spring Creek Book Company). While containing the entirety of Cannon's manuscript, the book gave the reader only sparse context: a three-page preface, a nine-page chronology, a three-page ap-

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<sup>1</sup>"Two Church Workers Will Tour Missions of Pacific Islands," *Deseret News*, October 15, 1920.



pendix of events not included in the manuscript but described publicly by McKay in later years, and an eleven-page tribute to Cannon written by one of his sons. Given the importance of the journey to the Church's subsequent globalization, the lack of supportive material left the reader hungering for context and meaning.

*To the Peripheries of Mormondom* was awarded the Geraldine McBride Woodward International Book Award for 2012. Although the text is essentially a reprint of *David O. McKay around the World*, it goes well beyond its predecessor: cloth-bound and large format (7.25 x 10.25 inches), compared to paperback and small format (6 x 9 inches); extensive and highly informative editor's preface and introduction written by Reid L. Neilson; a fifty-four-page gallery of high-quality, annotated photographs of the journey; and, most useful, sixty-three pages of footnotes that add context, including many useful quotations from McKay's diaries. Among the latter was McKay's account of climbing a hill to view the gravesite of Scottish author Robert Lewis Stevenson: "The ascent is not precipitous now, but the trail cut by the natives who carried or dragged the casket to the top was almost perpendicular. They truly had to climb on their hands and knees. The higher we climbed, the more beautiful became the view of the surrounding country. How typical of intellectual and spiritual experiences as well!" (text accompanying Photograph 45)

Neilson's editorial comments are insightful. For example, he ties the voyagers' experience with transportation limitations to McKay's subsequent empathy with foreign missionaries. Arriving in French Polynesia and expecting to meet the mission president, McKay and Cannon were shocked to know that he had left mission headquarters three months previously to hold a conference on another island and hadn't been heard from since: "McKay, who felt that he had been personally slighted on such an important visit, was worried and upset until the locals explained that this was how things worked in the islands, as there was no means of communication or transportation other than by ship. . . . In subsequent years McKay was more empathetic to trials of mission presidents, missionaries, and church members scattered across the Pacific who were hamstrung by these communication and transportation limitations" (xxix–xxx).

The presidency of David O. McKay, which began in 1951, was transformational for the international church. McKay moved quickly to construct temples in Europe and the South Pacific; and as part of announcing those plans, he reversed the century-old policy of gathering that had simultaneously built the Great Basin church while ensuring that the international church would remain weakened and incomplete. The total effect on that transformation of McKay's earlier international experiences—which included a two-year proselytizing mission in Scotland in the 1890s and a two-year stint as president of the European Mission (1923–24), in addition to the global tour of 1920–21—has

yet to be explored completely. *To the Peripheries of Mormondom* now stands beside Stan Larson and Patricia Larson, eds., *What E're Thou Art Act Well Thy Part: The Missionary Diaries of David O. McKay* (Salt Lake City: Blue Ribbon Books, 1999) as crucial source material for subsequent scholarly treatments of this important era of LDS Church history.

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Riley M. Moffat, Fred E. Woods, and Jeffrey N. Walker. *Gathering to La'ie*. La'ie, Hawai'i: Jonathan Napela Center for Hawaiian and Pacific Island Studies, Brigham Young University Hawai'i, 2011. v, 221 pp. Photographs, maps, appendices, bibliography, index. Paper: \$29.95; ISBN 978-0-939154-10-4

Hokulani K. Aikau. *A Chosen People, A Promised Land: Mormonism and Race in Hawai'i*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012. ix, 232 pp. Photographs, notes, glossary, bibliography, index. Paper: \$22.50; ISBN 978-0-8166-7462-6

*Reviewed by Dominic F. Martinez*

Not since the release of R. Lanier Britsch's book, *Moramona: The Mormons in Hawai'i* (Laie, Hawai'i: Institute for Polynesian Studies, BYU-Hawaii, 1989) has there been literature capturing the influence and detailed results that Mormonism has had on Hawai'i and the Hawaiian/Polynesian converts. Riley Moffat, Fred Woods and Jeffrey Walker's *Gathering To La'ie*, and Hokulani Aikau's, *A Chosen People A Promised Land: Mormonism and Race in Hawai'i* (both published within a year of each other) enthrall the reader with photographs, stories, and letters depicting Mormonism's role in the colonization of La'ie, Hawai'i. Both books tell a similar historical story of the introduction and evolution of Mormonism within Hawai'i, specifically La'ie, yet the authors of these books express their own perspective on how Mormonism has influenced the Hawaiian culture and traditions—that is, Moffat, Woods, and Walker provide a pro-Mormon approach while Aikau depicts a counter-perspective from a Polynesian standpoint, postulating concerns of unhappy natives.

Moffat, Woods, and Walker present Mormonism's role in La'ie through a series of journal entries, newspaper articles, letters, recorded interviews, and archived photos, painting a picture of a native population on the brink of cultural purge until Mormon missionaries arrived in 1850. They posit

that the natives were able to progress, not only culturally, but also religiously, socially, and financially in the religious haven of La'ie. In nine chapters Moffat, Woods, and Walker chronologically construct the development of the Mormon settlement in La'ie from the process of selecting this sacred space to the construction of the Mormon temple to the congregation of Polynesian Mormons attending the Church College of Hawai'i (later Brigham Young University–Hawai'i) and the Polynesian Cultural Center, all of which were sustained through visions and prayers by Mormon leaders, such as George Q. Cannon, one of the first missionaries to arrive in Hawai'i, and Joseph F. Smith and David O. McKay, who both became presidents of the Mormon Church.

Moffat, Woods, and Walker summarize that the Mormon Church had multiple reasons for wanting to establish a Mormon colony in Hawai'i. Mainly, they needed a haven where its members could be isolated from outside temptations and could become financially sound on their own. This need for protection was due to corrupt leaders, such as Mormon missionary Walter Murray Gibson, who "desired to be called their king and deliverer" (21). Gibson misled the Hawaiian Mormons into believing that Brigham Young had sent him to collect their money and personal property in order to purchase land for their gathering in Palawai Basin. Instead he used the properties to purchase land for himself.

At times, the prose has overtones of patronage, with the native Hawaiians/Polynesians being portrayed as childlike figures in need of guidance. For example, in Chapter 2 the authors cite correspondence between Brigham Young, the Church president, and King Kamehameha V of the Hawaiian Islands:

President Young wanted La'ie to be a gathering place that would provide spiritual and physical well-being for the natives. Although the intentions and policies of the Church would provide positive experience for the natives, the king did not want the Church or any organization, to take advantage of what he called the "simplemindedness" of the natives. . . . The king did not want the Church coming to La'ie to act as religious leaders but welcomed its efforts to raise capital on the island and teach the people of his kingdom principles of agriculture, education and citizenry. (25)

As this quotation signifies, the Mormon Church sought not only a Zion-like promised land in the Pacific, but also a space that was fruitful in religious spirit, culture, traditions, and finances.

I would strongly recommend this coffee-table-sized book mostly for the archived photos and short insightful statements that were taken from journals of those who assisted in the establishment of La'ie. This abundant compilation of primary sources can be used as a historical reference when researching La'ie.

In the preface of Aikau's *A Chosen People, A Promised Land*, the reader is greeted with a photograph of a young Hawaiian girl (Aikau herself) sitting on her father's lap on the day of her baptism into the Mormon Church. Although she is no longer an active member, by connecting her personal experiences as both Hawaiian and Mormon, she is able to write from an insider/outsider experience that is unique and insightful. Aikau writes, "This book was inspired by my personal challenge to understand how my Native Hawaiian ethnic identity came to be 'naturally' linked to my religious identity as a Latter-day Saint and to understand the racial politics that position Polynesians as a chosen people in this predominantly white religious organization" (xii). As a scholar, Aikau voices conflicting ideologies, highlighting some of the contradictions of being both Hawaiian and connected to the Mormon Church through family and friends.

Aikau accomplishes her objective of exploring the paradox between tradition and modernity. She does so by approaching this paradox in two ways. First, she explores the multiple meanings of the same space through oral stories that occurred at different times. In one instance, she illustrates Thomas Au's childhood memory of a stream where he swam and fished, which has now been transformed into a space polluted with beer cans and dead animals. Second, she examines the multiple identities that many Hawaiian Christians struggle with while trying to simultaneously maintain their cultural traditions and religious beliefs. She writes: "I explore how broader social and historical forces and processes such as racialization, colonialism, assimilation to American culture, and touristification shape Hawaiian members of the Church" (11). By giving a brief history of La'ie and the Mormon Church's influence on this space, she paints a picture of an evolving La'ie through oral traditions and stories from multiple Mormon and Native perspectives. She explains how Mormonism's influence through the development of living arrangements (Church ownership over the land), the Church College, the LDS temple, and the Polynesian Cultural Center, have benefited the Hawaiians and Hawai'i through the revivification of cultural traditions. Yet she counter-argues that these traditions have been misrepresented and colonized to the point that their cultural traditions are indefinitely tied to Mormon traditions:

The tourism industry in Hawai'i has not outgrown racial categories but rather relies on them to turn a profit. On one discursive level, there appears to be a strong correlation between culture and care. At the center (Polynesian Cultural Center), culture is composed of objects—things that collectively produce the feeling of authenticity. Within this framework, Polynesian bodies adorned in "traditional" costumes are equal to the grass shacks in each village and the arts and crafts produced by workers and sold in the store called the International Market Place. The racialization of the Native as primitive—always out of time in modernity—is what

tourists buy at this “cultural park for ethnographic tourism.” (140)

This negotiation between Hawaiian identity and Mormon identity is played out over many generations through this idea of sense of place and Western influence. Through stories about La‘ie, she attempts to play out these tensions between “indigeneity and modernity” by positioning the changing landscape of La‘ie in relation to the colonization of the native people by Westerners, or in this case, Mormonism.

In Chapter 1, Aikau briefly touches on the scholarly belief that Polynesians are direct descendants from prominent Book of Mormon characters, such as Hawai‘i Loa, a Hawaiian god-like figure or powerful being, who, some Mormons speculate, is a descendent of Nephi. Aikau quotes Jerry Loveland, formerly of BYU-Hawai‘i, as saying, “The most striking Polynesian account of a Hagoth-like voyage is that of Hawai‘i Loa or Hawai‘i-nui. Mormon tradition has it that Hawai‘i Loa and Hagoth are the same person” (51). In response, Aikau comments: “Whether fabricated or doctored, the story of Hawai‘i Loa continues to be central to Mormon explanations of the connection between the people of The Book of Mormon and Polynesians” (51). Throughout the book, she explains how the first missionaries and Mormon scholars have been able to echo the coincidental religious beliefs of Polynesian and Mormon religions. “For example, Mormons believe that the Godhead is comprised of three separate entities, God the Father, His Son Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit. Cole and Jensen (Mormon genealogists) point to the Hawaiian gods Kane, Ku, and Lono to argue that . . . these three preeminent gods are evidence that Hawaiians retained elements of their original religious understandings” (49–50).

Even though Aikau clearly provides us with great insight on this discourse of multiple identities and a changing landscape that is shaped by non-native contact, she fails to present evidence to support her argument that Mormonism has had a negative impact on La‘ie. Aikau approaches the discussion of culture and traditions from an insider’s perspective, which she believes demonstrates the discontent of fellow native community members. However, adequate sources willing to express discontent seemed faulty, as they did not want to appear unfaithful or disloyal either to their religious organization or to their cultural community. Even though Mormons were part of the Western colonization process, their approach was not to conquer and control, but rather to reside and preserve. It is significant that Mormons were persecuted aggressively nationwide for their own beliefs, so a merging of a native society waning in power was interwoven with a new community and familial focused religion at a time when both needed support.

Aikau incorporates this understanding of cultural blending in Chapter 4, “In the Service of the Lord: Religion, Race, and the Polynesian Cultural Center” by stating:

Polynesian workers find themselves in a paradox of selling/performing race at the cultural center: many former workers describe their experiences there as a time in their lives when they took pride in their cultural heritage. It was also a time when they were able to learn about their culture as well as the diversity of cultures in Polynesia, yet this learning took place within a highly racialized institutional structure. The culture that is packaged and sold operates within a racial discourse of the always already primitive Polynesian. (128)

Obviously, by exploring the construction and use of identity, Hawaiians are able to stay connected to their historical roots and ancestral ties while interweaving and balancing another dominant lifestyle. This interweaving of both the Hawaiian traditions and identity with Mormon beliefs was, and still is, present in La'ie.

For those with an interest in Mormonism in Hawai'i or Polynesian Mormons, Aikau's intellectual, scholarly work is essential. Her perspective provides the long overdue other side of the story. Throughout her research and desire to negotiate an "irreconcilable tension" (185) between Mormons and Polynesians, she discovered that "cultural regeneration can happen in unexpected places and with unexpected alliances" (185). I am glad I had the opportunity to read both of these books on Polynesian Mormonism simultaneously since I received an in-depth history from Moffat, Woods, and Walker and, from Aikau, an expanded analysis of the historical effects. Reading both books together provides, to a certain extent, a more complete picture of La'ie's transformation from a native plantation village to a religious mecca and now an educational sanctuary combined with Hawai'i's largest tourist attraction, the Polynesian Cultural Center, visited by millions each year. Whether a reader is conducting research or just wanting to learn more about Mormonism's influence on Hawaiians and Polynesians, I recommend both of these books.

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Terryl L. Givens and Matthew J. Grow. *Parley P. Pratt: The Apostle Paul of Mormonism*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. 499 pp. Illustra-



tions, maps, notes, appendices, index. Paper: \$34.95; ISBN 978-0-19-537573-2

*Reviewed by David J. Whittaker*

When monikers for LDS leaders were first handed out in 1845, early Mormon writer and printer William W. Phelps bestowed "the Archer of Paradise" upon Parley P. Pratt, and "the Gauge of Philosophy" on his brother Orson.<sup>1</sup> Until fairly recently, Orson Pratt has been given far more attention than Parley. In 1873, T. B. H. Stenhouse wrote that Orson was "emphatically the gospel-apostle" whose pen furnished the first logical arguments in favor of Mormonism. In 1876, Edward Tullidge first called Orson the "Paul of Mormonism." In John Henry Evans's centennial reflections on the Church's history, he noted that in the first century of the Church "there was no leader of the intellectual stature of Orson Pratt."<sup>2</sup> In the first scholarly study of Orson Pratt's life, T. Edgar Lyon summarized these evaluations of Orson:

Looking back over the first century of Mormonism, it became increasingly evident that Orson Pratt did more to formulate the Mormon idea of God, the religious basis of polygamy (polygyny), the pre-existence of spirits, the doctrine of the gathering, the resurrection, and eternal salvation than any other person in the Church with the exception of Joseph Smith. . . .

Due to his efforts more than to any other person's the odds and ends of Joseph Smith's utterances were constructed and expanded into a philosophic system.<sup>3</sup>

When Leonard Arrington polled fifty prominent Mormon scholars in 1968 on their opinions concerning the leading intellectuals in the history of the Mormon Church, Orson Pratt was mentioned second only to B. H. Roberts, receiving more votes than Joseph Smith or his own brother Parley!<sup>4</sup> In the most recent scholarly biography of Orson Pratt, Breck England acknowl-

<sup>1</sup>*New York Sun*, August 6, 1845 as quoted in Joseph Smith Jr. et al., *History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints*, edited by B. H. Roberts, 2d ed. rev. (6 vols., 1902–12, Vol. 7, 1932; rpt., Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1966 printing), 7:434–35. The *History of the Church* attributes these names to William W. Phelps.

<sup>2</sup>T. B. H. Stenhouse, *Rocky Mountain Saints: A Full and Complete History of the Mormons* (New York: D. Appleton, 1873), 9–10; Edward Tullidge, *Life of Brigham Young, or Utah and Her Founders* (New York: n.pub., 1876), Appendix, p. 74; John Henry Evans, *The Heart of Mormonism* (Salt Lake City: Published for the Department of Education by Deseret Book, 1935), 411–12.

<sup>3</sup>T. Edgar Lyon, "Orson Pratt—Early Mormon Leader" (M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1932), 104, 99.

<sup>4</sup>Leonard J. Arrington, "The Intellectual Tradition of the Latter-day Saints," *Dia-*

edges Oliver Cowdery, Parley Pratt, and Brigham Young as important intellectual leaders in the early Church, but he continued to see Orson “as the foremost elaborator and interpreter of Mormon doctrine,” claiming that his contributions “remain unequaled in volume and scope,” and noting that, while Joseph Smith revealed the gospel of the kingdom, Orson provided a “legitimate rational grounding” for early Mormonism.<sup>5</sup>

While the extent of Orson Pratt’s influence ought to be appreciated, to have so undervalued Parley’s has been a serious blind spot afflicting writers of LDS history and thought. Of course, Orson lived longer and his publications appeared in much larger editions/printings than Parley’s, but to have so underrated the individual who is probably the most important writer/thinker in the formative years of the Church has been a serious problem in Mormon historiography. Parley’s *Autobiography* was first published in 1874, but it has been used more as a classic account of an early Mormon missionary than as a window into Mormon intellectual and cultural history.

Parley’s early editing of LDS periodicals, scriptures, and hymnals, and his published letters in various periodicals provide a large body of material for the biographer to conquer. His numerous publications, some of which first appeared anonymously and the fact that other early Mormon writers took Parley’s works and placed their names on the title pages, has also proved a barrier to a full understanding of Parley’s life and thought.<sup>6</sup> The first full-length biography was by Reva Lucile Hollaway Scott, writing under the pseudonym of “Reva Stanley,” but it lacked extensive source citations, made assertions no document extant can confirm, and lacked the necessary depth and breadth required for a good biography.<sup>7</sup> Members of the Pratt family occasionally reprinted Parley’s works, the most important being Parley Parker Robinson, ed., *The Writings of Parley Parker Pratt* (Salt Lake City: Printed by Deseret News Press for the compiler, 1952). More recently *The Essential Parley P. Pratt* was published with a Foreword by Peter Crawley (Salt Lake City: Signature Books, 1990).

Beginning with Peter Crawley’s 1982 essay, “Parley P. Pratt: Father of Mor-

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*logue: A Journal of Mormon Thought* 4 (Spring 1969): 22–23.

<sup>5</sup>Breck England, *The Life and Thought of Orson Pratt* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), 100, 299.

<sup>6</sup>For a complete survey, see David J. Whittaker, “Parley P. Pratt and Early Mormon Print Culture,” in Gregory K. Armstrong, Matthew J. Grow, and Dennis J. Siler, eds., *Parley P. Pratt and the Making of Mormonism* (Norman: Arthur H. Clark, a division of the University of Oklahoma Press, 2011), 85–136.

<sup>7</sup>Reva Stanley [pseud. of Reva Lucile Hollaway Scott], *The Archer of Paradise: A Biography of Parley P. Pratt* (Caldwell, Ida.: Caxton Printers, 1937).

mon Pamphleteering,” more accurate attention has been given to Parley and his writings.<sup>8</sup> Steven Pratt’s lifetime project of collecting Pratt family sources and the opening of the LDS Church History Archives has made available many manuscript sources for Pratt family history. A fuller understanding of Parley’s life and thought has been one of the most important consequences. Steven Pratt has published several important essays on Pratt family history and others have focused on the *Autobiography*. In 2007, on the sesquicentennial anniversary of Parley’s murder, a conference was held in Fort Smith, Arkansas, and many of the papers delivered at this conference have been gathered into *Parley P. Pratt and the Making of Mormonism*. A significant number of articles in the Winter 2011 issue of the *Journal of Mormon History* were devoted to various aspects of Parley’s life and thought as reflected in the *Autobiography*. Thus, there has finally been a maturing scholarship in all things Parley.

The fullest manifestation of this new scholarship is the recent biography by Terryl Givens and Matthew Grow. They have made good use of the recent scholarship, including the Fort Smith conference volume to which they had privileged access through Matthew Grow before it was published. Terryl Givens is a professor of literature at the University of Richmond and has authored a number of books on Mormon history and thought, most of them focusing on Mormon intellectual and cultural history. Matthew Grow is a descendant of Parley Pratt and is currently the production manager of the LDS Church History Library in Salt Lake City. His previously published work was a prize-winning biography “*Liberty to the Downtrodden*”: *Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2009).

Their Pratt biography is organized into fourteen chapters and proceeds chronologically through Pratt’s life, which in turn provides a window into the key events in LDS history from its founding to Pratt’s murder in 1857 by the former husband of a plural wife. We follow the Pratt family from colonial times into the American frontier, Parley’s search for a true religion, his work with the Campbellites and Sidney Ridgon, his conversion to Mormonism, his mission to the Lamanites on the western frontier, and his subsequent missions into Upper Canada, the eastern United States, to England and later to California and Chile. Parley’s life, intertwined with the major events of Mormon history, shows his central role in many of the key events in the first generation of the Church, and specifically his intellectual role in defending and shaping the foundational doctrines of the Church, particularly after his call as an apostle in 1835. Parley’s extensive writings and missionary travels do indeed parallel those of the early Apostle Paul.

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<sup>8</sup>Peter Crawley, “Parley P. Pratt: Father of Mormon Pamphleteering,” *Dialogue, A Journal of Mormon Thought* 15 (Autumn 1982): 13–26.

Initially, Givens covered the life to 1845, roughly the first nine chapters. His earlier works on Mormon cultural and intellectual history are clearly evident in these chapters, especially since almost all of Parley's printed works appeared by 1845. These chapters present the details of Parley's extensive publications while also providing interpretation for the contents and the arguments into the larger development of Mormon doctrine. Givens is at his best in the extended discussions of the ideas that first emerged in Parley's forty some published works. Especially valuable are the discussions of Parley's works in the context of (1) "Baconianism" which assumed an intellectual basis for experience and facts that could be useful in defending Mormonism's truth claims that were strongly materialistic; (2) a strong pre-millennialism, which in Pratt's hands was the key for preparing the earth and its inhabitants for the Second Coming of Christ by preaching the gospel and gathering the converts to the task of establishing Zion; and (3) the oratorical culture of antebellum America which could be commonsense and grandiose at the same time (104–14).

The extensive discussions in Chapters 5–8 provide valuable insights into early Mormon thought and Parley's pivotal role in the development and elaboration of the kernels of Joseph Smith's early thought. The important discussion of his final great work, *The Key to the Science of Theology* (1855) (331–35) is understandable when seen as the synthesis of Pratt's work to 1845. As the authors note, Parley Pratt (Paul-like) was the first to assemble Joseph Smith's ideas into something like a systemic form: "If Smith instigated Mormonism's essential beliefs, Pratt organized, elaborated, and defended them in a manner that gave them the enduring life and complexion they have in the church to this day. Pratt was, in this sense, the first theologian of Mormonism." (169)

As an author, Parley has many firsts in Mormon print culture: the first missionary narrative (1835); the first volume of Mormon poetry (1835), the first book-length Mormon book (1837) in which he established the basic formulas for describing the doctrines of the Church as well as the first attempt to compare the LDS doctrines with orthodox Christianity; the first Mormon missionary tract (1840); the first work of satire (1840); the only work that could be considered a theological treatise during the Nauvoo period (1844); the first Mormon tract in Spanish; and the first Mormon pamphlet published in Australia. Furthermore, he published the first defense of plural marriage some months before the public announcement by his brother Orson in August 1852. Such an impressive output reveals a brilliant mind and further suggests why earlier Mormon writers were mistaken in placing their stronger emphasis on Orson.<sup>9</sup>

Grow's extensive knowledge of Pratt family history adds a significant di-

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<sup>9</sup>For Orson's dependence on Parley, see David J. Whittaker, "Orson Pratt: Pro-

mension to this biography, and his access to family sources is put to good use in reconstructing Parley's rich family life, including his first marriage and his subsequent marriages in plurality. His troubled marriage to his second monogamous wife, Mary Ann Frost Stearns, is an important thread through the biographical narrative, revealing because it was the exception to his generally happy (if temporally poor) family history. Parley's letters to his family leave little doubt about how much he loved and missed his family as he traveled far and wide on various Church assignments. The biography uses this correspondence throughout to show the more private side of Parley. These relationships also reveal the struggles of his polygamous families but also the exceptional quality of the women who choose to marry Parley.

Grow's knowledge of the western phase of Mormon history also equipped him to treat extensively the western movement, the pioneering years and settlement in Salt Lake City, the exploration of Parley's Canyon, the 1849 Southern [Utah] Exploring Company that Parley led, as well as Parley's presidency of the Pacific Mission, based in San Francisco. The useful discussion of Parley's work in defending the Church in various California newspapers draws from Grow's earlier research on this aspect of his life. From California, Parley led the first mission into South America (Chile); and while unsuccessful, it more fully illustrates why it is more accurate to label Parley, rather than Orson, as the Paul of Mormonism. As this biography shows, so much of Parley's literary productions were a product of the ferment of this missionary work.

Missing from this biography are at least three topics that I would have liked to have seen included or better developed: (1) a closer look at the relationship between Parley and Orson, comparing their lives and thought and publications (Orson authored about thirty-nine works, a number of which were dependent on Parley's) and their impacts later in the Church as well as more discussion of their estrangement for so many years; (2) an analysis of Parley's poetry, which is extensive but was seldom touched upon in this biography; and (3) a history of the interaction of Brigham Young and the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, with a focus on Parley's role in this important quorum. Parley fulfilled all the assignments the Church president gave him, but it appears that Brigham Young seldom had the quorum meet once he was sustained as the Church president, preferring to assign the apostles to various geographical areas and mission leadership assignments. But there were quorum meetings occasionally, so just what was Parley's role here in Church government and in a less formal relationship with the other member of his quorum? For example, the authors show how Parley's defense of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles after Joseph Smith's death was critical in supporting Brigham Young

during the succession crisis of 1844 (222–34). Correspondence between the apostles was regular; what more does it reveal? Due to internal squabbling which focused on the relative authority of high priests and seventies which dated from the Kirtland era, Joseph Smith had reduced the Seventy's Quorums to one by 1844, but Parley was a critical voice during the succession crisis. He supported Brigham Young in increasing the number of Seventy's Quorums from one in 1844 to thirty-five by 1846, and they functioned as the major missionary quorums throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>10</sup> In addition, the role of high councils was not yet fully understood, and these organizational matters help in better understanding Parley's conflicts with a number of priesthood leaders in the months and years that followed, particularly during the initial months in the Salt Lake Valley.

With the possibility of overstating the case, one way to treat the Pratt brothers is to consider them as representatives of the two main cultural and intellectual trends in the early years of the American Republic. The Age of Enlightenment, beginning in the seventeenth century, with its rationalism, quest for scientific proofs, inductive methods, and legalism can be seen in the work of Orson Pratt. The Romantic Movement, as a reaction to the age of Rationalism, sought answers in intuition, poetry, feelings, and deduction. Orson can be seen as a child of the Enlightenment; Parley as a Romantic.

As far as I know, Orson did not compose poetry and Parley did not study mathematics or publish theories on planetary motion. Parley's pamphlets take ideas and "play" seriously with them; Orson published tracts that offered mathematical-like scriptural proofs for Mormon doctrines, which made his published works ideal for missionary work and hence explains their popularity. Orson's great work was *Key to the Universe*; Parley's was *Key to the Science of Theology*. Mormon thought has benefited from both authors; in fact, one might trace these two approaches down through the years from these two brothers. For example, one could compare Elder Bruce R. McConkie to Orson Pratt, and Elder Neal A. Maxwell to Parley Pratt.

I would highly recommend this new biography on Parley. At long last we have a work that is fully aware of Parley's extensive contributions to Mormonism as the "Paul of Mormonism."

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<sup>10</sup>See the discussion in Lyndon W. Cook, *A Tentative Inquiry into the Office of the Seventy, 1835–1845* (Provo, Utah: Grandin Books, 2010), 103–21.

1997, published as “The Web of Print: Toward a History of the Book in Early Mormon Culture,” *Journal of Mormon History* 23 (Spring 1997): 1–41.

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Edward Whitley. *American Bards: Walt Whitman and Other Unlikely Candidates for National Poet*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010. 264 pp., notes, bibliography, index. Hardcover: \$49.95; ISBN 978-0-8078-3421-3

*Reviewed by Jill Mulvey Derr*

In his engaging historical and literary study of Walt Whitman’s aspirations to be America’s “national bard,” Edward Whitley plumbs the complexities of the poet’s contradictions. Whitley’s incisive discussion also sheds new light on the conflicted nationalism of nineteenth-century Mormonism and its poet laureate, Eliza R. Snow.

*American Bards* compares the antebellum Whitman with three lesser known contemporaneous poets—James M. Whitfield, John Rollin Ridge, and Snow—each of whom “presumed to address the United States as representative Americans despite their membership in communities deemed, to one degree or another, to be decidedly un-American” (3). African American separatist Whitfield believed that blacks should establish their own independent republic in South America. Ridge (“Yellow Bird”) was a Cherokee journalist who envisioned a nation enriched by racial and cultural amalgamation. Snow articulated the Latter-day Saints’ project to unite “the deep past of the ancient world with the millennial future of the New World” (6).

Each of three chapters examines the writings of one of these “marginal” poets alongside Whitman’s attempts to speak to the same issues their poems addressed: the contradictions surrounding race, the creation of a new American religion, and the history and energy of the continent’s indigenous peoples. The fourth and final chapter focuses on a little-known Whitman poem and serves as a complement to the book’s introduction by placing Whitman and antebellum American poetry in the context of current literary criticism and Whitman scholarship. While Whitley offers Ridge, Whitfield, and Snow “as counterpoints to Whitman,” *American Bards* is also their story. They emerge from these pages as poets engaged “in a debate over meaning-making and identity formation,” part of a literary history where “there is more going on than we might appreciate” (190).

Walt Whitman hoped to speak on behalf of all Americans. “I am large. . . . I contain multitudes,” he declared in his 1855 *Leaves of Grass*. The free verse form of the poem “by virtue of its sprawling lines,” Whitley notes, “is able to



include all the diverse inhabitants of the nation in a single poetic gesture" (31). Whitley invites a rethinking of "Whitman's legacy as the nation's outsider bard" by considering two questions of form inherent in the term "national bard." First is "the social and geopolitical form of the nation" and second is "the form of address that a poet takes toward his or her audience" (8). These questions run through the book's five chapters and connect the four poets to their bardic aspirations, to their conflicted nation, and to one another.

All four of these poets sought "to bring poetry into the public sphere" (19) and believed in the power of poets as "unacknowledged social legislators" (29). All wrote some lyric poetry, expressing "interior consciousness," but all understood the importance of commemorative poetry, the "bardic utterance," as the "expression of a cultural consciousness" (17). The United States did not have an official poet laureate until the twentieth century, but the tradition of inviting poets to commemorate significant events dated back to the days of the early republic. One of the first poems published by young Eliza Snow in Portage County, Ohio, commemorated the Fourth of July. Communities who solicited such public poetry expected it to reflect their values and identity and hoped "to see those values and that identity exemplified in the person of the poet" (16). The social, racial, and religious norms of antebellum America cast Whitman, Whitfield, Ridge, and Snow as outsiders. Each of these four poets used poetry to address his or her subgroup, but all understood the symbolic value of commemorative poetry and leveraged their outsider status to address the nation. They used "public poetry to challenge rather than enforce communal values, to dispute national consensus rather than affirm it" (92).

Whitley explores the variety of challenges launched by these poets. For example, he points to abolitionist James Whitfield's ironic pairing of poems in his 1853 collection, *America and Other Poems*, such as his juxtaposing "an ode for the Fourth of July with a poem on the anniversary of the end of the British slave trade" and "an elegy for a white statesman (John Quincy Adams) with an encomium for an African revolutionary (Cinque, the leader of the revolt on the *Amistad*)" (18).

Whitley deftly unpacks these lesser known but freighted antebellum texts. His analysis of Eliza R. Snow's 1841 lengthy poem, "Time and Change," breathes life and meaning into this ambitious, blank-verse narrative—described by Snow as "A Historical Sketch, commencing with the Creation, and extending to the year 1841." The first 300 lines of Snow's double-stranded narrative recount "the biblical past of prophetic authority," and the following 100 lines show "the story of Liberty's emigration from Europe to North America" (90). Whitley illuminates Snow's attempt to reconcile these "two disparate historical paths—one sacred, one secular—leading to the same moment of na-

tional origins” by inserting a disruptive segment entitled “Ode.” This short rhymed poem with a different meter seems strangely out of place. Whitley observes that this “nesting” of a shorter lyric or ballad was part of “antebellum poetry culture,” and here it performed a specific function—to bring liberty and religion together.

Whitley notes that national poets or bards were expected to “craft poems that resolve ideological conflicts. . . . Snow was uniquely poised to do precisely this because she earnestly believed that the Saints’ theocratic government, which she referred to on a number of occasions as a ‘perfect government,’ would provide the best protection for individual liberty” (90).

In other chapters, Whitley explores how Whitman, James Whitfield, and John Rollin Ridge similarly created poems that sought both to lay bare and somehow reconcile the nation’s contradictions, each thereby taking upon himself “the obligation of the national poet” (90). Particularly intriguing is Whitley’s discussion of how national identity, poetry, and geography intersect for these poets. Each was part of and wrote on behalf of a sub-group of Americans and each stepped beyond the United States to connect his or her group to a broader global community. James Whitfield looked for “solidarity with the African American community, on the one hand, and with similarly oppressed peoples across the globe, on the other” (54). Eliza R. Snow portrayed Latter-day Saints in their Rocky Mountain Zion as the true preservers of American values. At the same time, she celebrated Zion’s spread across the earth as missionaries preached the gospel, preparing the righteous from all lands for the millennial reign of Jesus Christ. John Rollin Ridge witnessed in California the coming together of native peoples, diverse races, and immigrants and believed that this successful amalgamation was a unique “local culture existing separately and distinctly from the larger nation” and at the same time “a node in a network of global forces” moving toward “a universal amalgamation of the races” (148–49). The antebellum Whitman identified himself as “one of the roughs,” the representative of urban American workers, but he also aligned himself with workers across the world. Whitley explores the local-global tensions manifest in Whitman’s *Calamus* poems and particularly in his 1855 poem, “A Broadway Pageant,” commemorating the New York City parade in honor of Japanese ambassadors. Skillfully deconstructing this text, Whitley illustrates Whitman’s attempts to reconcile “his patriotism and his cosmopolitanism” (184).

Again and again, Whitley’s parsing of any single text is richly enhanced by the multiple texts and contexts of the poets and poems that populate his study. Not only does a more complex Whitman emerge from these pages, but Whitfield, Rollin, and Snow likewise emerge as more complex literary and historical figures. Their largely forgotten poems provide an unexpected and very personal picture of the contradictions tearing at the nation in the years

before the Civil War. Of interest to those wanting a new lens on Mormonism will be Whitman's fascination with a sacred past or pasts, his comments about the Book of Mormon, and his sense of his own prophetic role. Whitley furnishes fresh insights on Snow and her signature poem, "O My Father." More broadly, he situates Snow's poems—teeming with ironies, inconsistencies, and conflicting loyalties—within a national debate over American identity. That debate informed the Mormon experience for the remainder of the nineteenth century and well beyond. Indeed, as Whitley explores how these antebellum poets sought to reconcile their nationalism with their allegiances to smaller local and larger global communities, he shows that the challenge of globalizing an American religion has roots deeper than one might expect.

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John S. McCormick and John R. Sillito. *A History of Utah Radicalism: Startling, Socialistic, and Decidedly Revolutionary*. Logan: Utah State University Press, 2011. x, 477 pp. Photographs, index. Cloth: \$39.95; ISBN 978-0-87421-814-5

*Reviewed by Russell Arben Fox*

McCormick and Sillito provide, through their marvelously detailed *History of Utah Radicalism*, a story about radical movements in Utah history that is both exceptionally deep and unfortunately narrow. That Utah's history—thanks to the arrival of Mormon pioneers in 1847 who, at that time, were committed to what the rest of the United States widely condemned as radical experiments (both cooperative and polygamous) in home and work life—has been filled with movements and claims which challenged the liberal democratic, capitalist, and monogamous norms of modern America is essentially indisputable; any reader of McCormick and Sillito's work will come away even more convinced of that fact. Their telling of this story, however, does not include any kind of theoretical or analytical construct that captures and evaluates the whole history of that radicalism. Instead, they mostly opt to engage in a close, extensive historical recovery of the actions of the Social Party of America (and some of its offshoots, forerun-

ners, and affiliated organizations) and the reactions of those who opposed it in Utah during the first two decades of the twentieth century. McCormick and Sillito spend their introduction and first three chapters giving a thorough review of early Mormon radicalism, including the many different Mormon and non-Mormon political organizations which briefly flourished in the State of Deseret and the early years of Utah's statehood, and the causes and ideas those organizations championed. The ten chapters that follow, by contrast, focus solely on the party structure, popular literature, rhetorical style, gender relations, and political aspirations of and within Utah's Socialist Party, with the final two chapters detailing the hostility towards the Socialists expressed by the leadership of the Mormon Church. The conclusion somewhat hurriedly crams in references to Utah radicalism since the near-total demise of Utah's socialist movement in the 1920s, but essentially, with the end of the Socialist Party, the authors' documentation of radicalism in Utah ends as well.

The result is a book which does not truly fulfill its title: the idea of "Utah radicalism," in all its breadth and complications, is encapsulated almost entirely in the story of a relatively small group of people over a relatively short amount of time. That limited framework, however, doesn't prevent McCormick and Sillito from filling the pages of this book with exhaustive, entertaining, and surprising insights into the lives and beliefs of Utah's self-described socialist agitators. For those who wish to think theoretically or conceptually about the roots and possibilities for Mormon radicalism through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, McCormick and Sillito provide much necessary information, but little else; for those, however, who are intrigued by the history of this group of people during their relatively small moment of influence, the book is a gold mine.

That such a moment did, in fact, exist is probably the most important correction to the overall historical record which *Utah Radicalism* provides. By looking through the records of party meetings, the literature from city council campaigns, and hundreds of newspaper reports over the decades in question, McCormick and Sillito show that, while the Socialist Party—and the other (mostly union-related) organizations which associated with it—probably never truly had much chance to overcome the opposition which they faced in Utah, the fact remains that enough Utah residents found inspiration and support from the socialist message that a dismissal of early socialist reformers as wholly marginalized outsiders and thus irrelevant to the history of Utah is simply unsupportable. As they note:

Socialism in Utah was not the product of foreign influences imported from abroad—it was not an extraneous movement Europeans brought to the state. It was not a party on the fringes of respectable society. Neither was it a "party of dentists," as Trotsky once derisively charged about the party in the United States. Rather it appealed to a wide cross section of people. Utah

Socialists were overwhelmingly male, married, and native born—characteristics typical of the party nationally as well. Two-thirds were born in the United States, 70 percent of them in Utah. Of the nearly one-third who were foreign born, half were from the British Isles and almost all the rest from western Europe and Scandinavia; the overwhelming majority were not recent immigrants. Ninety percent had been in the United States more than ten years before they joined the party and over half more than twenty years. In addition, the party was occupationally diverse, with a strong working-class base. Finally, more than 40 percent of Utah Socialists were members of the LDS Church. That was significant because in a state whose population was 75 percent Mormon, no political movement could do well without significant participation from Mormons. (108)

The connection between Mormonism and socialist ideas is one which remains in need of greater thought and exploration, both historically and philosophically (Ethan Yorgason, in his book *Transformation of the Mormon Culture Region* [Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2003], has done some important work in this regard). While building such theoretical connections was clearly not one of McCormick and Sillito's aims, they do provide resources for readers to construct the arguments themselves, should they feel so inclined. Consider some of the long and mostly forgotten stories they uncover. For example, there is Dyer D. Lum, an early activist for the Knights of Labor in the 1880s, who wrote at length on the similarities between the distinct challenges to late nineteenth-century capitalism posed by both the labor movement and by Mormonism's cooperative economics and polygamous marriages (22–23). LDS Apostle Moses Thatcher flirted with socialist ideas in the years immediately following his disfellowshipping from the Mormon Church in 1896, suggesting that both Mormonism and the by-then mostly abandoned efforts by the Church to practice the United Order shared the ultimate aim of abolishing private property (61–62). And the legacy of the United Order itself was, of course, a motivation for many Mormons who attached themselves to the Socialist Party, despite the disapproval of the Church leadership (118–20).

But while these and other glimpses into the world of socialist activism a century ago suggest the possibility of a Utah which might have been—a state where, as was the case in more than a few other places throughout the United States, radical ideas of reform took enough root in the local political culture to subsequently affect the long-term shape of political parties and platforms—this possibility was never realized. Thus the history of radicalism which takes up the bulk of McCormick and Sillito's work contents itself with documenting in great detail the social lives, public arguments, religious beliefs, and electoral careers of Utah Socialists.

Why was the possibility of socialist reforms never truly realized in Utah? For many reasons, most of which are best explained by the larger trends in American capitalism which have been eloquently laid out by scholars like Seymour Martin Lipset (see his important volume, *It Didn't Happen Here: Why So-*

*cialism Failed in the United States* [New York: W. W. Norton, 2000]), among others. But Utah Socialists faced one obstacle more than the radicals of Wisconsin or California or New York: the consistent opposition of a dominant religious body. Officially promulgated hostility toward certain socialist principles goes all the way back in Mormon history to the 1840s, when Church leaders endeavored to distinguish Mormon radicalism from other communitarian movements on the American frontier. But in Utah, beginning in the 1890s, explicit condemnations of the Socialist Party and all other forms of socialism emerged almost without let-up from LDS General Authorities (383–84).

The other truly important addition to the historical record which *Utah Radicalism* provides is to chart how the Mormon Church's anti-socialism, which is otherwise already much noted, evolved and changed, mostly moving away from condemning socialism as a close Satanic counterfeit of God's economic order (that is, speaking as one utopian community, it condemned other utopian ideas as lacking a proper spiritual foundation), and turning in the early twentieth century to a condemnation of radicalism in general:

Church leaders continued [into the early twentieth century] to say strongly and directly that Socialism was a dangerous force and that Mormons should not become Socialists. It continued to offer many of the same reasons that it always had, most often that to be successful, programs for social change had to be based on religious principles and have God's support and guidance, which Socialism lacked. While repeating those familiar criticisms in a variety of forums and on a number of occasions, church leaders added new, interrelated, ones as well. Socialism, they said, endangered capital, while God's kingdom would be one where business interests and investments were safe; capitalists should be respected and capital and labor should work together; Mormons should champion the capitalistic system and the values on which it was based and should work within the two-party system to support it, combat Socialism, and oppose anything that threatened capital; God's people should be capitalists, not Socialists; and Mormons should be patriotic, prudent, and politically conservative. Of course, Mormon Church leaders were by no means always in agreement politically. Considerable disagreements could exist among them. On the question of Socialism, however, they were pretty much united. Some were Republicans and others Democrats, and that often caused bitter division, but none were Socialists. The only general authority who even flirted with Socialism or showed much sympathy for it was Moses Thatcher, who was removed from his position as an apostle. (408)

The different ways in which different Mormon leaders—from B. H. Roberts to Charles W. Penrose to Melvin J. Ballard and others, all examined in the book (413–20)—articulated this hostility to Socialism are intriguing, but to Mormons on the left like myself is also somewhat depressing. The likelihood that any community within the United States, with its overwhelmingly entrepreneurial, individualistic, and capital-oriented political and economic culture, could have successfully articulated a socialist alternative was always un-

likely—but still, McCormick and Sillito’s work make clear the intense fervor which Utah Mormonism lost out on due to its inability or unwillingness to think more broadly and critically about what its radical communitarian legacy might mean in America’s modernizing capitalist environment.

There is little in this fine book which points in the direction of how one might rediscover that fervor, in this moment (summer 2012) when the Mormon Church has embraced high-end boutique shopping malls as an appropriate strategy for investing in Utah’s economy, and when the most prominent Mormon in the country is a millionaire venture capitalist and Republican presidential candidate. But for anyone intrigued by questions of what once was in Utah, and perhaps even what might have been, this revealing book is an excellent place to start.

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Richard E. Bennett, Susan Easton Black, and Donald Q. Cannon. *The Nauvoo Legion in Illinois: A History of the Mormon Militia, 1841–1846*. Norman, Okla.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2010. 436 pp. Photographs, illustrations, tables, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$39.95. ISBN: 978-0-86062-382-0

*Reviewed by Blair G. Van Dyke*

For some, the Mormon claim that Joseph Smith was a consummate disciple of Jesus Christ and restored a latter-day brand of first-century Christianity is troubling in light of his apparent militaristic bent. Among their concerns are the facts that Smith encouraged the formation of the Nauvoo Legion, served as its highest ranking military officer, and planned and executed sham battles that might eventually have their counterparts in real conflicts on American soil. Also troubling may be the apparent duplicity of these activities, given the conciliatory nature of the teachings of Jesus. To such critics, Smith’s militarism appears to be a primary component of the “true nature” of Mormonism—to obtain power and maintain it by compulsion and the sword. Thomas Sharp’s early recollection of Mormons in



Nauvoo is indicative of this perspective, for in 1841 he wrote that “everything [Mormons] say or do seems to breathe the spirit of military tactics. Their *prophet* appears, on all great occasions in his splendid regimental dress. . . . Truly *fighting* must, be a part of the creed of these Saints!”<sup>1</sup>

On the other hand, other Mormons, then and now, do not see a conflict in Joseph Smith’s sanction of and participation in the Nauvoo Legion. Generally speaking, they view him as the leader of a maligned religious minority on the frontier of nineteenth-century America who had been the victims of mob aggression and an extermination order in Missouri but who eventually rose, phoenix-like, out of the ashes of persecution to create a thriving civil society on the banks of the Mississippi. The Nauvoo Legion with its associated military uniforms, drills, and pomp was part of that rise—a spark of justifiable triumphalism that many Mormons viewed, and continue to view, as a reasonable reflection of emerging power, civic order, and societal prestige that had begun to blossom as the natural evolution of Joseph Smith’s revelatory directives and unwavering faith claims about restored Christianity.<sup>2</sup>

The authors, Bennett, Black, and Cannon, express concern at the oft-adopted polar opposite positions of militarism or triumphalism because these extreme positions fail to explain the complexities associated with the establishment, practices, and purposes that undergirded the Nauvoo Legion. The nuanced history of the legion—its key leaders and institutional dynamics—emerged at a time that served Mormon communal interests, Mormon defensive and offensive interests, and the military interests of the state of Illinois. It is impossible to filter out Mormonism from the militia. However, the legion “at least in origin and design, was one of the most American constructs in Nauvoo” (22). Furthermore, the authors contend that the Legion “was not a worrisome imposition upon the state; rather, it was born out of the invitation of Illinois to shore up a state militia then in great disrepair” (16).

Ultimately, what we find in the legion is a curious hybrid: Mormonism (faith, zeal, militarism—defensive and offensive) mixed with antebellum American military practice (citizen soldiers haphazardly mustered together through local militias and governed loosely at the state level)—the history of which the authors identify as “colorful, legendary, and debatable” (15). Thus, the purpose of their study is to strike a balanced treatment of this fascinating piece of Mormon-American religious and military history.

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<sup>1</sup> *Warsaw Signal*, July 21, 1841, quoted in Richard L. Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling* (New York City: Alfred A. Knopf, 2005), 428; italics in original.

<sup>2</sup> Glen M. Leonard, *Nauvoo: A Place of Peace, a People of Promise* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 2002), 113–19; Robert Bruce Flanders, *Nauvoo: Kingdom on the Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965), 110–11; Bushman, *Joseph Smith: Rough Stone Rolling*, 423–24. See also *History of the Church*, 4:326–27.

*The Nauvoo Legion In Illinois* consists of an introduction, twelve chapters, illustrations, tables, appendices, and a bibliography. Chapter 1 provides a cultural, communitarian/religious, and Constitutional context for the establishment and ongoing support of the legion. Members of the colonies that eventually became the United States distrusted a large standing army as a threat that could rise up and overwhelm civil society. However, defense of family and property was a fundamental ethic of American-Protestant belief. Local militias, made up of citizen soldiers, dispelled the fears associated with a military state, while still allowing for common defense. Colonial militiamen became the core body of soldiers that fought in the American Revolution.

Furthermore, many militias served communal and religious purposes, given the fact that many communities were organized based on common ethnicity or faith. Irish, Germans, Christians, and Jews are some of the groups that united to form distinct militia companies. Ethnic and religious criteria for membership in a militia were particularly “in vogue” during the 1840s when the predominantly Mormon Nauvoo Legion was established (40). Finally, Article I, Section 8 of the Constitution specifically mentions militias as a key component to the general interests of the nation at large.

Chapter 2 describes the cultural divide between Mormons and Missourians. Mormons maintained anti-slavery leanings, held favorable views of American Indians, lived a communal-style life economically, functioned as a political bloc in terms of voting and other civic undertakings, and believed that Jackson County, Missouri, was to be their “Zion.” The Missourians of Independence, on the other hand, were rough and ragged—made to match the frontier on which they lived. Practically speaking, “one would be hard pressed to find any other place in the United States where the divide between religious dream and cultural reality was any wider than in Independence in 1830” (49). Mob violence against the Mormons emerged from this divide. The Mormon response to mob violence was a rise in militarism—Zion’s Camp and the Danite movement are two examples. The fact that neither state nor federal governments intervened on behalf of the Mormons (even after being petitioned to do so) infused them with a need for self defense. The authors contend that, for practical purposes, the Nauvoo Legion was born in Missouri. (See discussion of Danites below.)

Chapter 3 focuses on the founding of the Nauvoo Legion, chartered by the state on December 16, 1840, as a means of providing protection to the Mormons settling in Nauvoo. The authors emphasize the legality of the legion both in Illinois state law and federal Constitutional law. Opportunist, self-promoter, and militant-minded John C. Bennett was the driving force to acquire the charter of the legion. Hoping to never again experience the horrors of Missouri, Joseph Smith and the Mormons in Illinois warmed quickly to Bennett’s charisma and capacity to obtain charters for Nauvoo (including the

charter for the legion) but failed to see his deceptiveness. But even with Bennett's prominence, Joseph Smith took leadership roles in the legion from the beginning. A legal, civil, and transparent militia was essential to Joseph Smith in order to avoid the poisonous secrecy that the underhanded Danites had employed in Missouri.

Chapter 4 provides numbers, demographics, organizational, and structural information relative to the legion. Inflated estimates have placed membership at 4,000. In reality, membership peaked at 3,226. (However, when we consider that the standing army of the United States was approximately 8,000 in the early 1840s, the size of the legion is significant.) The median age of members was twenty-six, and the legion was made up of Mormons and non-Mormons, life-long citizens of the United States and newly arrived immigrants, all of whom swore their allegiance to the U.S. Constitution and the Constitution of the State of Illinois (111). This chapter introduces aspects of the legion's makeup and structure.

Chapter 5 considers the legion as an organ of military defense but never, the authors argue, of offense. They see Joseph Smith's intentions as using the legion, in Joseph's words, to "save the innocent, unoffending citizens from the iron grasp of the oppressor, and perpetuate and sustain our free institutions against misrule, anarchy and mob violence" (143). While other scholars such as Richard Bushman and David and Della Miller have maintained that Joseph Smith never intended to use the legion as an instrument of military force (128), the authors contend that Restoration scripture justified meeting violent mobs with defensive measures that might include lethal force under certain circumstances. A major theme of the Book of Mormon, for example, is that "defensive war is justified, but only when all other options have failed" (129). Joseph Smith's own revelations for the Church were mixed on conflict—some demanded a call for peace and forgiveness while others allowed for retaliation and war. Without question, the Prophet was heavily influenced by the Book of Mormon and his own published revelations. With commands to be passive and war-like simultaneously in view, the authors conclude that Joseph "would have preferred peace but believed himself justified in retaliating when Mormon rights were repeatedly violated" (130).

Chapter 6 highlights the important role that courts-martial played in the discipline and maintenance of the legion. The courts-martial were the organizational body comprised of militia members that determined legal parameters for the conduct of the legion. This body was also empowered to enforce established rules of the legion. Initially the courts-martial established rules and regulations regarding legion organization, uniforms, drill protocol, and so forth, in order to ensure compliance with state and federal constitutions. As time passed, and opposition against Mormons grew, legion courts-martial passed resolutions that were increasingly militaristic. Furthermore, as rank-

ing leader of the legion, Joseph Smith (or leaders closely tied to him) could legislate and enforce rules passed by the courts-martial. This high concentration of military, civic, and religious authority distressed some inhabitants of western Illinois. But the Mormons still viewed it as essential to their self-preservation. Mormon resolve to not be driven out as they were in Missouri is evident in the following: "The courts-martial of 1843 reflected the growing tensions and sense of urgency that was beginning to grip Nauvoo. They targeted the need for resolutions regarding weapons, distribution of public arms, the right to carry additional arms, and the construction of an arsenal. . . . The Legion courts were no longer ruling on uniforms or parades; they focused increasingly on arming the Legion to defend Nauvoo" (159).

With the legion in place, Mormons were now franchised at a new level—very different from their disenfranchised status in Missouri. On the whole, courts-martial led to order and productivity among legion members. Those who refused to obey were investigated, tried, and, if guilty, cashiered from the legion. Bennett, Black, and Cannon provide a handful of cases in which discipline was meted out on charges such as conduct unbecoming an officer, threatening with abusive language, spreading falsehoods, drunkenness, and conspiracy to name a few (149–50). Members that abided by rules and regulations participated in a level of military organization and decorum heretofore unknown to the Mormon people.

Chapter 7 addresses the legion's evolution from a largely socio-spiritual communitarian body that emphasized cohesion among the Saints (through outward manifestations of military pomp such as uniforms and grand parades) to a focus on actual military prowess that could be employed to defend Nauvoo. The rise of military capacities among the Mormons was viewed as "un-American" by some who believed that intertwining the forces of military and religion was a dangerous combination (172). In 1842 Joseph Smith removed religious trappings from military activities of the legion. The legion's involvement in laying the cornerstones of the Nauvoo Temple on April 6, 1841, was a tipping point for some non-Mormons. They witnessed one manifestation of an unquestionable melding between Church and militia "and viewed it as something sinister or un-American, and criticized the employment of Illinois State Militia for an avowedly ecclesiastical purpose" (171). The authors maintain that Joseph was, in part, responding to alarms about the legion (from individuals like Thomas Sharp) but that he was mostly recognizing the legion's evolution into a genuine military force (172).

Chapter 8 chronicles the disaffection of the dynamic but highly sinister John C. Bennett and the impact of his subsequent vendetta against Joseph Smith and the Church. He was excommunicated on May 25, 1842, "for adultery and teaching that illicit intercourse was condoned by Church lead-

ers.”<sup>3</sup> Thereafter, Bennett was a vicious enemy of the Church and took consistent aim at the legion, identifying it as a key to Joseph Smith’s establishment of “a great despotic empire in the West” (189).

Other dissidents followed Bennett’s lead. The attempted assassination in May 1842 of Lilburn Boggs, former governor of Missouri, added fuel to this fire. Missouri officials attempted to extradite Joseph Smith for this violent act. He was taken into custody on August 8, 1842, outside Nauvoo but was freed by approximately 250 members of the legion. This chapter explores the legal volleying that made the Prophet’s freedom from Missouri’s arrest attempts a reality. Legion members conveyed him back to a hero’s welcome in Nauvoo, while non-Mormons and disaffected Mormons saw political, legal, and military power, not only embodied in Joseph Smith but also unleashed in his favor.

Chapter 9 documents perceptions and fears about Mormons generally, and about Joseph Smith specifically, relative to the Nauvoo Legion. A pressing question posed in this chapter springs from the legion’s rescue of Joseph Smith described in Chapter 8: Was the legion freeing its commander, a civic leader, or a religious leader? (218) How this question is answered informs perceptions about the legion’s legality and scope. The years 1842–44 saw a heightened awareness among non-Mormons of the size and potential strength of the Nauvoo Legion, and most believed that such power in the hands of a religious leader was dangerous and inappropriate in the United States (214).

Joseph and Hyrum Smith were shot to death by an armed mob in Carthage Jail on June 27, 1844. Events leading up to their assassination comprise Chapter 10. Joseph Smith’s leadership of the Nauvoo Legion during this period is intertwined with the Carthage conspiracy. In fact, the charge of treason that led to his imprisonment without bail or release emanated from his orders to the legion to govern Nauvoo by martial law. Outsiders viewed this act as treason against the state, especially since it had come on the heels of the destruction of the press, type, and paper of the *Nauvoo Expositor*—an anti-Mormon publication declared a public nuisance by the Nauvoo City Council. The destruction of the press by the legion stirred opponents of Mormonism into volatile anger, and the Mormons of Nauvoo were under threat of mob attack. At this moment, Joseph Smith could have mobilized the legion, defended the city, and saved his life. Instead, he commanded the legion to stand down (in obedience to Illinois Governor Thomas Ford’s orders) and then surrendered himself to state authorities. The authors argue that Joseph Smith’s acquiescence under these circumstances stand as compelling proof that the core purposes of the legion were defensive and not offensive (242).

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<sup>3</sup>Lyndon W. Cook, *The Revelations of the Prophet Joseph Smith*: (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1985), 253.

Chapter 11 depicts the legion's activities following the martyrdom. On January 29, 1845, the Illinois House of Representatives and Senate repealed the Nauvoo Charter, effectively disfranchising the Mormons in all facets of civic and political life. Deprived of state sponsorship, the legion ceased to exist as an arm of the Illinois militia system although it persisted as a practical means of protecting Nauvoo's Mormons. Mormons deemed the legion's ongoing military activities such as carrying weapons and ammunition, distributing new military appointments, and preparing in all ways to ward off possible attacks to be essential protective measures, while most non-Mormon observers considered such activities to be unjustifiable defiance of law (255). Mob activity against the Saints continued to escalate.

Eventually, Brigham Young ordered the Saints to abandon the city. The first wagons rolled west on February 4, 1846. Members of the legion helped fellow Mormons safely cross the Mississippi River and provided a semblance of protection for those who were not yet prepared to leave. The Illinois State Militia attacked Nauvoo in the summer of 1846. While the remnants of the Nauvoo Legion fought back, ultimately it could not sustain the battle. They surrendered, and all Mormons were evicted from both Nauvoo and Illinois.

Chapter 12 serves as a conclusion, providing a sweeping overview of the study, with particular emphasis on three points: First, research for this book resulted in the discovery "of several hundreds of previously unknown privates who once proudly enlisted [in the legion]" (269). The names of these men are listed in Appendix E. Second, the authors conclude that evidence is lacking to support the premise that "the Legion created or represented a greater spirit of militancy than ever before among the Mormons" (269). Third, perhaps the greatest contribution of the legion was preventing "extradition, mass killings, and eventual civil war" (269). "Strong and formidable, the Legion was a worthy deterrent to wanton persecution, unjust attack, and very real threats of extermination. As such, it deserves an honorable place in the military history and tradition of Illinois and of the United States" (269).

The primary strength of Bennett, Black, and Cannon's book is that they placed the Nauvoo Legion in historical context. Their work moved an opaque and somewhat enigmatic chapter of Mormon history toward greater clarity and comprehension. For example, why were Mormons allowed to establish a standing army that numbered approximately 3,200 men at a time when the regular army of the United States numbered only 8,000? (106-7). The authors note that the legion was legitimate, due to federal and state laws that mandated service in local militias and the anemic condition of militias in Illinois at the time. The authors state: "The chartering of the Nauvoo Legion as an independent military body—independent only in the sense it was not part of nearby company regiments like the Hancock Fifty-Ninth—must be seen as fulfilling both the letter and the spirit of Illinois law, an attempt to deliver on the

encouragement and invitation of the state, whose own militia was in disarray. Little wonder, then, that there would be no initial opposition to it" (44). This context, explored in greater detail in the book, answers why and how a persecuted religious minority in the 1840s could have a standing militia approximately one-third the size of the regular army of the United States. This context heightens scholars' capacity to analyze and synthesize events associated with the legion and other related historical events in Nauvoo.

Another strength of the book is the distinctions the authors make between Zion's Camp (the earliest manifestation of Mormon militarism) and the Nauvoo Legion. While both were important military movements in Mormonism, the legion fell clearly within the boundaries of Illinois state law and the U.S. Constitution. Zion's Camp did not:

Neither part of the United States Regular Army nor of any state militia, Zion's Camp was a hastily organized, paramilitary, if understandable reaction to the unjust actions of Jackson County mobs and the inaction of elected government officials to redress Mormon losses. Inadequately provisioned, poorly trained, and insufficiently armed, Zion's Camp never intended to fight on its own. . . . Its primary military purpose seems to have been to align itself with state militia units, which the Mormons hoped would be called into action in Jackson County, to restore order and return lost lands and properties. A quasi-military action with untrained leadership that never gained legal recognition in any state, Zion's Camp was more a model of how *not* to run a militia than it was a precedent for the future Nauvoo Legion. (60–61)

The variance between the fundamental purposes and functions of Zion's Camp and the Nauvoo Legion demands a working knowledge of the times, places, people, and events from which each emerged. The authors provide this essential context. State-sponsored militias stood at one end of a spectrum, where state and federal backing and cooperation were essential—while at the other end was Zion's Camp, which was strictly a Mormon undertaking, directed and governed by Joseph Smith and independent of government cooperation in its initial formation. The Nauvoo Legion likely lands somewhere between these two because it was sponsored by the state but heavily influenced by Mormonism. Simply, the spectrum is framed in institutions, and military action outside these institutions would be unacceptable in nineteenth-century Mormonism. Therefore, groups like the Danites or Daughters of Zion were clearly dissidents—off the grid. As the authors explained: "The Legion was a deliberate, conscious effort to improve upon the inadequacies and shortcomings of Zion's Camp and the irregularities and illegalities of the Danites. That some former members of Zion's Camp and members of the Danites served in the Legion was inevitable and to be expected. But unlike either group, the Legion was legally sanctioned by the state, and drilled and paraded in public" (265).



I appreciated the measured tone that the authors generally employed in relation to Joseph Smith. It was not overly triumphal nor was it disparaging. In their introduction, the authors “admit to our biases as Latter-day Saint scholars at Brigham Young University; however, we believe in independent thought and freedom of inquiry” (18). In the case of the Mormon prophet, they did not shy away from positions that some readers might see as diminishing the stature of Joseph Smith. Fortunately, gloss was not an end-goal of this study. For example, the authors clearly identified Joseph’s failure to rein in the renegade militant Danites in Missouri. They wrote: “If Joseph Smith knew of the Danites, he should have restrained them much earlier—and if he did not know of them, as leader, he should have. The Danites proved to be perpetrators of violence not in keeping with the stated purpose of the Church in coming to Missouri in the first place—or its doctrines—and an embarrassment to the Mormon people” (63).

Similarly, Bennett, Black, and Cannon claim that, had Joseph done due diligence to carefully scrutinize the character and background of John C. Bennett, he would have perceived him as a charlatan and never invited him into his inner circle of confidants and leaders. The authors explain that Joseph was tantalized by the opportunities Bennett presented to the beleaguered Mormons; and so, without sufficient consideration, Joseph extended fellowship to the ambitious Bennett, a choice the long-term consequences of which were disastrous. The authors comment:

The unscrupulous Bennett will ever pose a challenge to faithful Mormon scholars. To disparage him too roundly is to question his leader’s judgment of character; to defend him too blindly is to deny his gross deficiencies. Yet, as Mormon historian B. H. Roberts admitted, “[I]t must be confessed that President Joseph Smith and the people of Nauvoo erred greatly in their treatment of [him], by being too indulgent and long suffering.” Smith’s trust in and sometimes blind loyalty to his friends, coupled with a willingness to forgive became—at least in this instance—a virtue run to seed. (186)

Conversely, the authors provided several examples depicting Joseph in triumph. Most notable was the legion’s dramatic but controversial rescue of the Prophet from Missouri law officers. In a whirlwind of legal maneuvering and political alliances, circumstances were created that allowed the legion to capture Joseph Smith’s captors. At that moment, Joseph exclaimed in relief to his captors: “Gentlemen, I think I will not go to Missouri this time! These are my boys!” (200). The legion escorted Joseph Smith and the Missourians to Nauvoo where Joseph hosted a feast and seated his former captors at the head of the table.<sup>4</sup>

The illustrations (e.g., drawings, paintings, images) included in the book

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<sup>4</sup>Andrew H. Hedges, Alex D. Smith, and Richard Lloyd Anderson, eds., “Appen-

were excellent and provided a stimulating visual context. It was apparent that the authors were interested in period pieces created by artists living in nineteenth-century America. Only one contemporary artistic rendering of Nauvoo is included. What some of the paintings may lack in artistic complexity is more than compensated for in ambience and, tangentially, art history, relative to nineteenth-century Mormonism. I was disappointed that no maps of Illinois generally and Nauvoo specifically were included in this volume. The carefully situated illustrations provide helpful visual orientation to the reader; strategically placed and circumspectly labeled maps of Nauvoo would have added significantly to the reader's capacity to achieve greater geographic orientation as the history unfolded.

The inclusion of poetic stanzas from Hosea Stout's "The Legion of Nauvoo" captured the esteem in which the legion was held in Nauvoo (166, 182). I hoped that Bennett, Black, and Cannon would provide some historical analysis of the newly discovered and previously unpublished records containing the names of several hundred Nauvoo Legion privates, the discovery of which was one of the primary motivations of the entire study (17). To be sure, the published list of names of privates in Appendix E, along with birth and death information, rank, company, battalion, regiment, and cohort affiliations, is most impressive. A quick perusal of the privates listed reveal a number of men who contributed significantly to the history of the Church in Nauvoo and thereafter including early black convert Elijah Abel [Ables]; close associate of the prophet Philo Dibble; prominent pioneer, settler, and civic leader Lorin Farr; Nauvoo Temple architect William Weeks; and ever-iconic Orrin Porter Rockwell.

Perhaps data are insufficient about the participation of individual privates in the legion to justify a chapter about them and how their service in the legion directly impacted them. If this is the case, we can only hope for additional historical discoveries and analysis to shed greater light on their participation. As it stands, the authors whetted my appetite for analysis beyond the list with information relative to average age of privates serving in the legion, subsequent life expectancy of legion members, fathers and sons who served together in the legion, and other interesting facts (109–10) but left me still hungry. Indeed, the word "private" does not appear in the index, nor are the names in this appendix indexed.

My most pressing criticism of *The Nauvoo Legion in Illinois* is Bennett, Black, and Cannon's first overarching conclusion—that the formation and

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dic 1: Missouri Extradition Attempt, 1842–1843, Selected Documents," in *Journals, Vol. 2, December 1841–April 1843*, The Joseph Smith Papers, general editors Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: The Church Historian's Press, 2011) 377–402.

purposes of the legion, coupled with its subsequent undertakings from parades to weapons acquisitions, did not create a heightened spirit of militancy among members of the legion specifically nor among Church members in Nauvoo and surrounding areas generally (269). They contend that, for Joseph Smith, “the Legion was not a psychological deterrent created merely for parades and military exercises; rather, it provided the Mormons with a constitutional state-sanctioned means to defend themselves within legal constraints” (128). The authors describe a legion that is consistently “ramping up” its defensive might but which simultaneously maintains benign disengagement from militant tendencies in actions and overall disposition. To me this conclusion is untenable. The Mormons faced credible threats against their own personal, family, religious, and community interests. Threats against the Mormons and their subsequent response in Nauvoo did not occur in a cultural vacuum. A rise in militancy—albeit defensive—would be the only reasonable human response to mustering a large army and calling them to arms to defend wives, children, Church, and property.

Several historical events addressed in the book led me to conclude that a rise in the spirit of militancy in conjunction with the legion was unavoidable. Some examples include the close institutional connectedness between the Mormon Church and the Nauvoo Legion (168–69, 218, 94–95, 140–41, 145, 148, 168–69); the heightened militant rhetoric employed by Joseph Smith and other high-ranking Mormon Church leaders in Nauvoo in response to threats of murder, rape, whippings, house burnings and other violent acts against Church members in Illinois (145, 169, 178, 200, 221); the legion’s overt militant activities, such as rescuing Joseph Smith from extradition by Missouri law officers (198–201); the legion’s involvement in destroying the press and furnishings of the *Nauvoo Expositor* (237, 246); and the declaration of martial law in Nauvoo (238).

I have no quarrel with Bennett, Black, and Cannon’s repeated claims that the legion’s intentions and purposes were defensive, and not offensive. However, individuals and groups may become more militant in spirit and disposition while still acting legally and defensively. A rise in militant temperament among the citizens of Nauvoo in response to the formation and activities of the legion to defend the city appeared to be a natural outgrowth of military undertakings. Again, to suggest otherwise, in light of the facts outlined in the book, deprives the Mormons of Nauvoo of very human emotions and reasonable responses to circumstances developing around them.

In spite of these concerns, this book is compelling. Prior to reading the book, my understanding of the Nauvoo Legion was like Sutcliffe Maudsley’s full-length profile drawing of Joseph Smith in full military uniform—technically accurate, but not particularly nuanced in details. I am indebted to Richard E. Bennett, Susan Easton Black, and Donald Q. Cannon for capturing a

historical image of the legion in Nauvoo that is technically accurate and vibrant, engaging, useful, and enlightening.

Finally, the authors explained that the life of the Nauvoo Legion in the Great Basin of the American West “is beyond the scope of the present work” (17). The fact that Mormons in the West formed a territorial militia called the Nauvoo Legion reminds us, as the authors indicate, that there is much more to this story. Like many other recent historical analyses—Ronald W. Walker, Richard E. Turley, and Glen M. Leonard, *The Massacre at Mountain Meadows: An American Tragedy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), comes to mind—this book begs for a follow-up volume—“a truthful effort to understand the Nauvoo Legion in [the West]” (18).

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Stephen C. Taysom. *Shakers, Mormons, and Religious Worlds: Conflicting Views, Contested Boundaries*. Religion in North America Series. Edited by Catherine L. Albanese and Stephen J. Stein. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2011. xiv, 259 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. Cloth: \$34.95; ISBN 978-0-253-35540-9

*Reviewed by J. Spencer Fluhman*

Stephen Taysom offers a glimpse of what academic religious studies might mean for Mormon history. Taysom’s comparative analysis of early Shakerism and Mormonism injects familiar stories with new theoretical significance. Indeed, few works in Mormon history offer such theoretical sophistication, a fact that might polarize readers. The book tilts toward academics trained in religious studies and challenges conventional approaches to

Mormon history by forsaking narrative for sociological models, comprehensiveness for interpretative imagination, and straightforward historicism for interdisciplinarity. As surely as its theoretical orientation will jar some Mormon history specialists, its conclusions defy some traditional interpretations of early Mormonism.

Taysom is hardly the first scholar to compare Mormons and Shakers, and readers expecting a history of the two movements or a summary of major beliefs and practices will be frustrated. Rather, Taysom takes each early faith as a case study in the development of new religious movements. In particular, he is interested in the question of how each group positioned itself with regard to the larger society and what modifications of that positioning over time might reveal. Thus, more a history of each group's separationist tendencies than of the faiths themselves, Taysom's account tests a particular model of religious identity-making, one in which so-called "high tension" defines engagement with the broader society. In framing the book this way, Taysom is as much in conversation with sociologists, anthropologists, and religion theorists as with historians, a fact that becomes clear as he identifies influential works in the text.

Two initial chapters narrate early Shaker and Mormon communitarianism in turn, with special attention to the ways each group engaged or imagined the unbelieving "other." The third chapter is a composite analysis of each group's approaches to marriage, sexuality, and the theologies undergirding each. The final chapter drills deeply into periods of "boundary crisis" for the respective groups: the 1830s–40s "Era of Manifestations" for Shakers and the 1850s "Mormon Reformation."

The ordering of Chapters 3 and 4 is curious, however. The discussion of Shaker celibacy and Mormon polygamy takes the book—dramatically—to the turn of the twentieth century, only to have Chapter 4 flash back to the antebellum period with micro-analyses of important but highly localized events in a much broader study. The two chapters could have been profitably switched. Indeed, Chapter 3 offers better clues to the faiths' twentieth-century trajectories, which would have suited the book's broader argument well. As it stands, Taysom's disinterest in narrative hampers the book's readability and, with a conclusion that scolds law enforcement officials and news media for their treatment of new religious movements rather than summarizing what the book reveals about the development of such groups (as the introduction did), the book limps to a close instead of ringing with Taysom's best insights.

This problem is especially regrettable because Taysom is a gifted scholar who offers insight at every turn. This book's creative, incisive accounts will intrigue scholars of Shakerism, Mormonism, and American religion alike. His framework for understanding early Shakerism—that Shakers understood the "outside" world in both culturally postulated ideal and experiential forms—is

quite helpful. His work on the “performance” of Shaker separatism and the management of membership and communal pollution is brilliant. His account of the Mormon concept of “Zion” (and its malleability in particular) is the finest available:

From 1830, the time of the first revelations about the city of Zion, through the founding and building up of Nauvoo, Mormons conceived of the highest expression of sacred space as a holy city with the temple at its center. The potential size of what might be termed “greater Zion” increased over time, but the general schema of concentric circles moving out from the center point of the temple, to the ring representing the sacred city, and finally to the largest circle representing the larger Zion, remained intact. By the time the Mormons crossed the freezing Mississippi and headed for the West in 1846, that ideal had been eclipsed by a new one in which the temple itself replaced the holy city as the outer cordon of sacred space while the individual within the temple replaced the temple itself as the particular center of Zion. (93)

This explanation of the ideal’s reconstruction in the mid-1840s is especially penetrating and functions as an important corrective for a field that has long known such ideas were important. Throughout, Taysom offers powerful arguments for the centrality of theology in comprehending the built worlds and social, economic, and political activities of the new faith—a not-so-subtle critique of accounts that have treated religious thought as epiphenomenal to other, more earthy concerns.

In the end, though, his “high tension” model, which helps Taysom explain so much about early Mormonism and Shakerism, may have proved limiting as well. Such is the case with all interpretative models, perhaps. In this case, it proved to be less than supple in the book’s interpretative climax. In the final chapter’s account of the Mormon Reformation, some readers will be provoked by Taysom’s claim: lacking a proximate non-Mormon “other” to define their community against, he writes, Mormon leaders fabricated a crisis to spur the Saints to communal purity:

The Mormons’ success in their efforts to separate themselves from their neighbors had the unintended consequence of creating too much tranquility. . . . The Mormon Reformation should not be interpreted primarily as a response to an organic spiritual crisis. Rather, it was the intentional *creation* of a crisis by church leaders in an attempt to reinvigorate Mormon communal and religious identity at a time when the Mormons were between periods of major crisis with the outside world. (170–71)

Rather than functioning as *part* of the Reformation’s explanation, in other words, the “high-tension model” strait-jackets Taysom into offering it as the *only* explanation for the years-long jeremiad. The book’s easy invocation of nuance and complexity almost entirely evaporates in this interpretative crescendo. Several problems follow. For one, Taysom must claim “tranquility”

despite its being a hard sell for late-1850s Utah Territory. Relatedly, he seems only partially concerned with the Mormons' stormy relationship with non-white neighbors. He notes in passing that the so-called "Walker War" had concluded by 1857, but possibly leaves the impression that Mormon/Indian trouble either entirely wrapped up (it didn't) or didn't count as tension of the identity-making kind. Just how galling was the very narrow window of "tranquility"—between the Walker and Black Hawk Wars, between the "runaway" federal official scandals and the Utah War—for Mormon identity? Enough on its own to prompt the *ex nihilo* invention of rampant spiritual decline? And how might one prove the *absence* of an "organic spiritual crisis?"

It's easy enough to doubt some leaders' candor given the rhetorical conventions of the time and the idiosyncratic personalities involved, but how does one prove that leaders perceived no authentic spiritual lag in Mormondom? Taysom's model forces him into the murky swamp of intentionality and "sincerity"; but earlier in the same chapter, he gives Shaker leaders mired in their own boundary crisis the benefit of the doubt: "They acted, publicly and privately, as if they did believe, and that must not be ignored" (168). No such grace is afforded the fiery LDS Reformation-makers: "Brigham Young and other Mormon leaders used rhetorical and ritual vehicles to create a crisis of deprivation in an effort to recreate the kind of tension patterns that they had come to expect and, to a certain extent, rely upon for identity and cohesion during the 1830s and 1840s" (154).

Taysom's representation of identity-making sometimes seems to condense complex processes into thin descriptions of leaders' agency; his reliance on "strategy" as a device, for instance, presents these processes as perhaps too unified, too conscious, and too intentional (for examples, see 128, 134). Certainly, his proposal that it fell to leaders to "create" and "maintain" tension with nonbelievers understates (or fails to comprehend) the significance of anti-Mormonism or anti-Shakerism (152). This kind of reductionism is common with some theoretical fields; but for me, the messiness of complex events seems irretrievably lost in single-minded attention to one side of the believer/outsider exchange only. That Taysom captures the chaotic nature of historical change so well—so masterfully, in fact—in other portions of the book makes the Reformation account feel all the more one-dimensional.

But none of these problems ultimately devastates Taysom's work. If he slips into overstatement or is momentarily hijacked by his sociological model's charms, the book offers more than enough to compensate. Mormon history has long boasted a devoted readership; its reception of Taysom's book will mark how far toward religious studies the field is ready to go. If his turn away from Mormon history's methodological and stylistic conventions stunts his readership, I fear the field will be the poorer for it. Like all good books, Taysom's deserves to be read, absorbed, and argued with.



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Matthew Bowman. *The Mormon People: The Making of an American Faith*. New York City: Random House, 2012. xxi, 328 pp. Appendices, bibliographic essay, notes, index. Cloth: \$26.00; ISBN 978-0-679-64490-3

*Reviewed by Henry Wolfinger*

This general history of Mormonism opens with several references to Mitt Romney, suggesting that the book was prompted by his bid for the U.S. presidency. Regardless of the book's origins, readers should not jump to the conclusion that the work is no more than an effort to exploit public curiosity about the Mormon faith. The youthful author (a recently minted Ph.D.) has produced a work that should appeal to both general readers unfamiliar with Mormonism and to specialists knowledgeable about the faith. He offers a number of stimulating insights into the transformation of the faith from its origins in early nineteenth-century New England to its place in late twentieth-century American culture.

The author uses the controversy over Romney's Mormon faith to illustrate a thesis that runs throughout the work. Americans, he states, have had a love-hate relationship with Mormonism: admiring Mormons for their personal virtues of diligence, rectitude, faith, and honesty, and fearing them for zealotry, polygamy, and heresy. As he explains, "From prophecy to polygamy to debates over gay marriage, Mormonism has frequently—incongruously—lain at the center of America's debate over what sort of nation it wishes to be" (xx-xxi).

Likewise, Mormons have been drawn to and opposed to different aspects of American culture, embracing its optimism but challenging its norms "as any prophetic religion must" (xxi). Challenging the simplistic notion that the Mormon adaptation to American values was a response to overwhelming pressure to abandon the practice of polygamy and the exercise of church authority in partisan politics, Bowman offers the following conclusion:

The Mormon embrace of American virtues was real because it emerged as much from the processes of their own beliefs as it did from outside pressure, and as such it was always directed to their own purposes first and to those of the nation second. At the heart of the faith a radical and transformative vision still lurks, and the Mormons made America their own as much as they made themselves Americans. (251)

Another theme pursued throughout the book is Mormonism's transforma-

tion from a radical utopian sect with the goal of establishing the kingdom of God on earth to an institutional church that increasingly places emphasis on meeting a set of moral standards for living the faith. This development, according to the author, began during Brigham Young's tenure as Church president. With the demise of polygamy and the Church's withdrawal from partisan politics, Mormon theology placed increasing importance on a plan of salvation whose elements included a devotional life in which worship served as a form of education and rectitude involved adherence to a strict behavioral code.

The author describes the book as "a work of synthesis" (xxi) and includes a useful bibliographic essay that discusses the historical works utilized for his study. But unlike some historical overviews, the book is much more than a summary of events and/or a rehashing of historical debates. It is filled with astute observations and intellectually challenging arguments, while providing the general reader with a basic understanding of Mormon theology, institutions, and sacred practices. Unfortunately, it lacks a general map that might help such readers locate the sites at which events discussed in the text occurred.

The Book of Mormon can serve to exemplify the author's intellectual approach to an often contentious subject. After summarizing the book's narrative and sampling faithful and critical views of the work, he provides a series of cogent comments on the work. He characterizes it as "a history written from a religious perspective" (27). The work, he states, explains the nature of a people's relationship with God, which mirrored the cycle of prosperity and corruption set forth in the Hebrew scriptures. The text is profoundly Christian, "full of sermons about faith, atonement, and repentance" (27). He treats the Book of Mormon as serious literature, closing his analysis as follows: "The existence of the book itself offers a new iteration of scripture, shattering the Bible's primacy as the word of God and conventional Protestant claims to authority and opening the gates for a flood of new scripture. It offers a distinctly American Christianity with a history centuries old" (27).

The analysis of plural marriage from 1852 to 1896 illustrates the author's evenhandedness in handling a controversial subject. It also demonstrates his ability to craft an account that serves the interests of both scholars and the general public. He lays out the theology behind plural marriage and discusses its practice in terms of demographics. He then moves beyond theological argumentation and statistics to the actual drama of Mormon women's silent struggle with the practice, quoting directly from journals of the period. Mormon polygamy, he admits, was a patriarchal system that reinforced male authority. But, he notes, it also gave polygamous wives sufficient security and autonomy to form a network of women committed to public engagement and civic improvement, citing the revival of the Relief Society and political activism in behalf of women's rights.

A major contribution of the book is its analysis of Mormonism in the twen-

tieth century, an era for which a modern account of the faith is lacking and historical research is limited. About 40 percent of the book is devoted to this period. Equally as noteworthy, the author throughout this history places Mormonism within the larger context of American religious and cultural history.

In discussing Mormon integration into the larger American community in the early twentieth century, Bowman relates “the golden age of Mormon theology” (163) to Progressive thought. Prominent Mormon writers like James E. Talmage, B. H. Roberts, and John A. Widtsoe shared the Progressive optimism in the capacities of human reason, education, and effort. In dealing with the challenges of evolution, the origins of the Earth, and biblical scholarship, their views were not dissimilar from those of Progressive Protestants. They did not find science at odds with religion, for the fundamental laws of the universe served as a foundation for religion as well as science. As Bowman explains, “Their theology was focused on two principles: the comprehensible nature of the universe and humanity’s godly ability to act on that comprehension” (165).

As Mormon thought became increasingly conservative after World War II, Mormonism began to distance itself from certain trends in American culture. The disconnect became obvious with the social unrest of the 1960s, the rise of feminism, and the debate over such issues as abortion and gay rights. The period was also marked by significant membership growth and global expansion, which, in Bowman’s view, led to the Church’s increasing emphasis on “strong, centralized institutional authority (universally known as ‘correlation’) and a growing suspicion of theological innovation in favor of an emphasis on correct behavior” (190–91).

Correlation identified Church authority with the priesthood hierarchy, downplaying “theology in favor of a strict moral code and conservative doctrinal beliefs about scripture, the supernatural, and the creation of the earth” (191). Correlation had both good and bad results. Institutional centralization helped eliminate fragmentation, overlap, and dysfunction within Church programs, but it came “at the cost of a certain degree of cultural vitality” (197). Indeed, despite international growth, Mormonism, according to the author, “is not yet a world religion, one that, like Islam or Catholicism, has found a way to adapt its forms to share its meaning in a panoply of cultures” (221–22).

Bowman is open-minded and displays none of the defensiveness that occasionally mars the writings of Mormons about their faith. He gives a generous tribute to Fawn Brodie’s controversial biography of Joseph Smith, stating, “Brodie’s gracefully written book defined the central issues of Joseph Smith’s life and rescued the prophet from earlier interpretations as Sidney Rigdon’s front man or a schizophrenic with delusions of grandeur” (278). Similarly, he provides a two-dimensional portrait of Bruce McConkie, one of the chief theologians of what has become known as “retrenchment Mormonism.” He characterizes McConkie’s theology as severe, stern, and absolutist, brooking

no dissent or compromise, but adds that McConkie was personally known “for his graciousness, sincerity, and lack of pretense” (203).

While the chapters on twentieth-century Mormonism are stimulating and well argued, those on Utah’s territorial period (1850–96) are provocative but not as persuasive. The Utah War, for example, is presented not so much as a conflict between federal and Church authority over the administration of Utah Territory, but more as an outgrowth of political cynicism. The Mormons, in Bowman’s view, “became a useful political foil”; and James Buchanan, on assuming the Presidency, “hoped that a crusade against Brigham Young would distract the nation from its battles over slavery” (117). Carried to its logical but dubious conclusion, this analysis suggests that Buchanan was sufficiently foolish to think that launching a military campaign to install a new governor in Utah would somehow drive “bleeding Kansas,” where pro-slavery and anti-slavery forces were engaged in near civil war, from the public mind.

In addition, events are occasionally discussed out of appropriate historical context. For example, the Mormon Reformation of 1856 is not mentioned in relationship to the outbreak of the Utah War of 1857. Rather, Bowman discusses the Reformation in the context of plural marriage, interpreting it as an effort to revive utopian communalism. Likewise, he touches on the Mountain Meadows Massacre only after completing his account of the Utah War. The massacre is therefore seen not as an outgrowth of the wartime tensions, but rather as “the grisly conclusion of a terrible series of mistakes” (121).

The author’s characterization of Brigham Young’s accomplishments is also open to challenge. In Bowman’s view, Young’s greatest achievement was creating the sense that the Mormons were the “new Israel.” Even more than Joseph Smith, Young shaped the Mormons’ view of themselves “as a covenanted people, specially chosen by God, to the practical work of building a community on earth” (102). Nonetheless, in this account of Young’s leadership, Mormonism seems more shaped by events than a shaper of events. According to Bowman, the utopian millenarianism that conceived of Mormonism as an apocalyptic community set apart from society was in retreat during his tenure. Moreover, the economic initiatives Young launched to maintain Mormon unity and make the Mormon community self-supporting—ZCMI and the United Order—were in decline, for with the arrival of the transcontinental railroad “came capitalism and business in a tide too deep and fierce for the Mormons’ fragile cooperatives to resist” (119).

This argument is suggestive of the claim made in the late 1860s that the arrival of the railroad and American civilization would fatally undermine Mormonism by ending its isolation and exposing the community to American values, including the monogamous family. Such thinking was quickly revealed to be overly optimistic. Brigham Young demonstrated that he could work effec-

tively with railroad magnates and eastern capitalists in helping construct the transcontinental railroad, establishing a network of feeder lines throughout the territory, and forming other Church-operated businesses like the Deseret Telegraph and what became known as the Deseret National Bank.

Similarly, the Church responded to a growing Gentile minority by establishing its own political party (the People's Party) that helped maintain the community's unity and its hold on local political power for almost two decades. What is remarkable about Young was his ability to engage in Mormon kingdom building while coping with larger economic and political pressures nationally. He adopted different approaches, some more effective than others; but against significant challenges from the federal government and growing national opposition to polygamy, he succeeded in strengthening the Church and sustaining a united godly community set apart from the rest of society.

A number of sloppy factual errors have crept into the author's discussion of the federal government's anti-polygamy campaign of the 1880s. At two points he speaks of federal marshals entering Utah "in force" (145, ix) after the passage of the Edmunds Act (1882). The U.S. marshal and his deputies actively enforced federal and territorial laws throughout Utah since the Poland Act of 1874 clarified their authority (e.g., a deputy marshal and accompanying posse arrested John D. Lee, a principal in the Mountain Meadows Massacre, in hiding in remote Panguitch in 1874). The deputies were no invading force, but local non-Mormons and former Mormons acquainted with the Mormon community and leadership.

Bowman also claims that passage of the Edmunds Act led marshals to seize the territorial prison; in fact, the U.S. marshal had charge of the prison long before this legislation. He also states that the Edmunds Act barred polygamists from public office and the vacancies were "filled by federal appointees sympathetic to the Raid" (145). Actually, the vacancies were filled by monogamous Mormons. He also reports that George Q. Cannon of the First Presidency "repeatedly posted bail and vanished before being captured for good in 1888" (145). Actually, Cannon was captured in 1886, jumped his bonds (\$45,000), and voluntarily surrendered in 1888 under an arrangement negotiated with local federal authorities.

Despite the occasional shortcoming, *The Mormon People* is a significant work of scholarship and an intellectual treat. The author's observations and conclusions will give historians of Mormonism much to reflect on. Bowman's insights, some of which are speculative and provocative, should prompt further analysis and debate. The book is also an engagingly written general history that will provide those unfamiliar with Mormonism with an understanding of the basic elements of Mormon theology and the major features of its history.

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Mark Lyman Staker. *Hearken, O Ye People: The Historical Setting of Joseph Smith's Ohio Revelations*. Salt Lake City: Kofford Books, 2009, 694 pp. Photographs, maps, notes, appendix, bibliography, index. Hardbound: \$34.95; ISBN 978-1-58958-113-5

*Reviewed by Gerrit John Dirkmaat*

The past decade has seen a veritable explosion in the number of books devoted to early Mormon history. Many of these new books take the form of biographies focused on early Mormon leaders—especially Mormonism's founder Joseph Smith—or of larger synthetic narratives that attempt to explain Mormonism in general rather than focusing on specific locales. Mark Staker's book, focusing on the historical and cultural settings for the many revelations Joseph Smith received in Ohio, provides a much-needed work covering the Ohio period of Mormon history. It has been nearly three decades since the publication of Milton V. Backman's *The Heavens Resound: A History of the Latter-day Saints in Ohio, 1830–1838* (Salt Lake City: Deseret Book, 1983). Staker provides a well-researched, significantly updated, and quite nuanced examination of this formative period in Mormon history.

Staker has divided his hefty book into four sections to provide both a topical and a chronological progression of events. Part 1, "Ohio's Mormonites," provides the reader with an in-depth examination of the religious and cultural factors that were common in the western states and also those that were distinctive to Kirtland and its surrounding environs. The reader quickly comes to appreciate Staker's anthropological training as he uses extensive cultural history to bring pre-Mormon Kirtland society alive. Somewhat surprisingly, his first chapter is not about Kirtland in general or a biographical introduction to men who would become well-known Mormon leaders like Sidney Rigdon or Edward Partridge. Rather, he introduces the reader to "Black Pete," a former slave and early convert to Mormonism. Staker argues that Pete was among those that had a "powerful influence on events" in the development of early Mormonism in Kirtland, especially in what would eventually be deemed excessive manifestations of spiritual exuberance when feeling the "Spirit" (8). Over the course of the next five chapters, Staker uses "Black Pete's" involvement in Mormonism as a vehicle for introducing new events, doctrines, and ideas. While these connections and "Black Pete's" importance at times feel a bit forced (he left no personal papers), this focus allows Staker to provide an interesting racial dynamic to his argument. In addition, this de-centered narrative, focusing on Kirtland residents prior to the arrival of Mormon mission-

aries, readily allows the reader to comprehend the religiosity of pre-Mormon Kirtland. In essence, Kirtland becomes the central feature, rather than the information simply serving as a prelude to Joseph Smith.

Part 2, "Consecration," focuses closely on the roles that Newel K. Whitney and Sidney Gilbert played in the early affairs of the Church. Extensive biographies of both men provide the reader with details about their lives, properties, and families that he or she is unlikely to find elsewhere. The role of the United Firm, including its rise and subsequent dissolution, is covered in the course of these chapters. When property transactions are discussed, Staker meticulously tracks down deed, court, and tax records and allows the reader to go beyond simply a shallow understanding of the purchase.

Part 3, "It Came From God": The Johnson Family, Joseph Smith, and Mormonism in Hiram Ohio" provides not only detailed accounts of those named in the title but also of the rise and subsequent fall of Symonds Ryder and Ezra Booth. Staker provides an interesting discussion of Ryder's apostasy and examines the oft-cited claim that it merely stemmed from pettiness over the misspelling of Ryder's name in a revelation. Staker explains, as have others, that the misspelling was placed at the center of his disaffection with Mormonism by Reverend Burke A. Hinsdale in 1870. Hinsdale eulogized Ryder's life at his funeral and then published the sermon, in which he cited the misspelling as the initial cause of Ryder's reexamination of his Mormon faith. Still, Hinsdale is the only source for this story, making it problematic, and Ryder personally cited other reasons for his defection from the sect (294).

The body of the chapters "Reaction to 'The Vision'" and "The Mobbing of Joseph Smith" provide detailed explanations of the infamous 1832 tar and feathering, in which Staker rejects the supposition that the mob was motivated to violence over an alleged relationship involving Marinda Nancy Johnson and instead asserts that "the two elements of dramatically changing doctrine and the migration of many local residents were the immediate factors that combined in Hiram as a catalyst for overt violence" (336–37). The interested reader will simply be blown away by the appendix to the chapter that tries to harmonize the various accounts of the mobbing with the physical data Staker has painstakingly researched. The appendix provides the two possible locations for Joseph and Emma's sleeping quarters inside the Johnson home when the assault occurred, along with accompanying maps and explanations for why one layout is clearly more in line with testimonies of the event than is the other (357). A sample of Staker's account of the aftermath of the mobbing reads:

Sadly, the violence was fatal for its smallest victim: baby Joseph Murdock. As Joseph III, the child with whom Emma was newly pregnant, learned the family story, "The mob . . . left the door open when they went out with [Joseph Jr. and] the child [Joseph Murdock] relapsed" in the



frosty air. Either he caught a cold in addition to his measles or, from a Thomsonian perspective, the cold itself aggravated the measles. He died on Thursday, March 29. Infant Joseph's maternal grandfather was Judge Benjamin Clapp of Mentor, and his maternal aunt was Alicia Clapp, daughter of the Disciple founder Thomas Campbell and sister of the Reverend Alexander Campbell. None of them left their views on the baby's death; but no public outrage appears in any surviving records; and when John Murdock visited them after he learned of the death of his son, he noted: "They were unbelieving and hard." (354)

Staker's Part 4, "Kirtland's Economy and the Rise and Fall of the Kirtland Safety Society," illustrates for the reader in several chapters the various decisions, factors, and unforeseen events that ultimately led to economic catastrophe in Kirtland. The subsequent mass apostasy of hundreds of disaffected members heralded the end of the Church's efforts to build up the city as a religious and economic haven (535). Having experienced through Staker the difficulties and struggles of early Mormons to establish the city, the reader is treated to an epilogue on the legacy of the city of Kirtland, through the eyes of those who continued to look back to it after subsequent movements to Illinois, Iowa, and Utah.

While the sum of the book is an impressive combination of research, biographical and cultural studies, and archeological findings, no doubt some readers will feel uneasy that it was not formatted in the same straightforward historical narrative style as *The Heavens Resound* and many other "location" histories. But this stylistic difference is also one of the book's greatest strengths. Using this method, Staker is more readily able to present different interpretations which incorporate fascinating cultural history. Unfortunately, as Staker explains on his blog, because of an oversight "an earlier version of the text for *Hearken O Ye People* was published, not its final form." (<http://hearkenoyepeople.blogspot.com>). As a result the book is filled with dozens of unintended errors for which Staker has assiduously provided detailed errata for the reader.

Aside from one's personal preference in style and this publication mishap, perhaps the most problematic aspect of Staker's work is that it does not utilize the new information on the early revelations recently made available to scholars through the publication of the *Book of Commandments and Revelations* by the Joseph Smith Papers project at the LDS Church History Library.<sup>1</sup> He certainly would have had to delay the publication of his book to incorporate the new materials, but such a postponement would have been well worth it in the

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<sup>1</sup>Robin Scott Jensen, Robert J. Woodford, and Steven C. Harper, eds., *Revelations and Translations: Manuscript Revelation Books, Facsimile Edition*, in THE JOSEPH SMITH PAPERS, general editors Dean C. Jessee, Ronald K. Esplin, and Richard Lyman Bushman (Salt Lake City: Church Historian's Press, October 2009).

long run. Since the publication of the *Book of Commandments and Revelations*, any contextualization of the Ohio revelations requires writers to often abandon the traditional dating and interpretations offered by the reminiscent account found in the “History of Joseph Smith/Manuscript History of the Church” in favor of the introductions and headings to each revelation found in this earliest manuscript revelation book.

For example, Staker’s explanation of the revelation now known as Doctrine and Covenants 41 provides interesting insight into the changing phraseology of revelations, but does not incorporate the information from the *Book of Commandments and Revelations* which explains that the impetus for that revelation was Leman Copley’s offer to house Joseph Smith and Sidney Rigdon on his land in Thompson, Ohio (102). With the revelation now canonized as Doctrine and Covenants 49, also involving Copley, Staker’s book dates the revelation to March 1831, as does the *History of the Church* and every edition of the *Doctrine and Covenants*, including the current (1981) version (107). However, the *Book of Commandments and Revelations*, containing the earliest manuscript copy of the revelation, as well as the manuscript version from Shaker leader Ashbel Kittell, properly date the revelation to May 9, two months later. While such discrepancies often do not make much difference in interpretation, in this case, it is particularly significant. Leman Copley’s defection from Mormonism and his subsequent eviction of the Mormons living on his property in Thompson in early June 1831 occurred on the heels of his involvement in the failed mission to the Shakers, which shook his faith immediately—not months later.

Despite these finer points, Staker’s book will be a crucial reference for those studying Mormon history in Kirtland. The combination of exhaustive research, the cultural approach, and the meticulous incorporation of archeological evidence has produced a book that will be fascinating to the casual student of history while also providing thorough research and deep insights for scholars.

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## BOOK NOTICES

Beth Shumway Moore. *Bones in the Well: The Haun's Mill Massacre, 1838: A Documentary History*. Norman, Okla.: The Arthur H. Clark Company, 2006. 192 pp. Bibliography, index. Hardcover: \$29.95; ISBN: 978-0-87062-345-5. Paperback (published in 2012): \$19.95; ISBN: 978-080-614-2708

On October 30, 1838, “some 200 to 250” Missouri militiamen under the leadership of Colonel Thomas Jennings attacked Haun’s Mill, a village of “thirty to forty LDS families,” ignored a “call for ‘quarter,’” and killed “seventeen Latter-day Saints and one friendly non-Mormon,” and wounded thirteen more, including “one woman and a seven-year-old boy. No Missouri militiamen were killed, though three were wounded” (178). Terrified Mormon women and children fled across a stream into the woods, while the men and boys took refuge in the blacksmith’s shop. It proved to be a deceptive shelter, since the chinks between the logs were broad enough that the Missourians could simply insert their rifles through the cracks and fire at anybody visible. The bodies of the slain “were thrown into an unfinished well and

lightly covered with dirt and straw. A few Missourians returned the next day, took plunder, and warned the remaining Saints to leave Missouri” (178).

Author Beth Shumway Moore quotes Will Bagley’s analysis in personal correspondence with her: “I don’t believe anyone can justify a military attack on civilians. Like the Mountain Meadows Massacre, Haun’s Mill was an atrocity. While I’ve concluded [that] the decent men who committed the massacre at Mountain Meadows did it largely out of misguided religious motivations—what the Missouri militia did was a straight-up criminal atrocity” (179).

The connection between the horror of this massacre and its influence on the later Mountain Meadows Massacre has been articulated by Alma Blair and Will Bagley. Less well-known is the fact that Beth Shumway Moore’s great-grandfather, Nephi Johnson, was the man whose dying nightmares launched Juanita Brooks on her reconstruction of Mountain Meadows (9), as Bagley draws out in his foreword.

“Not one of the Missouri militiamen ever described what happened

that autumn day,” notes Bagley; but Mormon survivors and their families left an impressive body of documents, which Moore has organized in fifteen chapters. Some reconstruct the narrative events by drawing on one or more major narratives. For example, Chapter 1, “Most Cruel Deed—1838,” is based on the record created by Major Return S. Holcombe, writing—for an unspecified reason—under the pen name of Burr Joyce. Holcombe may or may not have been a Mormon. He may have also been the author of an anonymous account (reproduced as Chapter 2) now in the Community of Christ Library-Archives and possibly an earlier draft of the published version.

Other accounts are by Joseph Young, Amanda Smith, her eleven-year-old son, Willard Gilbert Smith, Austin and Nancy Elston Hammer, Artemisia Sidnie Meyers, Nathan Kinsman Knight, Thomas McBride, Isaac Laney, Ellis and Olive Eames, David Lewis, Margaret Foutz, Ruth Naper, and others.

Chapter 6, titled “Interesting Bits and Pieces,” consists of shorter accounts from county, local, and family histories (e.g., Pearl Wilcox and Oliver Walker) histories, newspaper reports, and second-hand narratives (e.g., Hyrum Smith, James Henry Rollins, and John P. Greene). Chapter 15, titled “More Interesting Bits and Pieces,” includes other accounts including a second-hand report by Willard Smith of an conscience-stricken Missourian who encountered Smith in California and begged Smith to shoot him and “put an end to my mis-

ery.” Smith refused to “soil my hands on you” (173). Another account by Alvin R. Dyer, future member of David O. McKay’s LDS First Presidency, citing a county history, claimed that Colonel William O. Jennings (not Thomas) was assassinated after dark in 1862 and that Nehemiah Comstock, another mob leader, died “as a good-for-nothing drunkard” (173). Dyer’s implication is that these deaths represented divine vengeance.

Although several sources agree on the overwhelming numerical superiority of the Missourians, apparently a complete roster of those involved has never been reconstructed. The accounts reproduced by Moore provide the names (sometimes incomplete) of about two dozen men.

The exact site of the well has been lost, according to Moore, along with the location of most homes, the mill, and the blacksmith shop. “Visitors to the site say that, though the setting is serene and lovely, they can feel a sense of the horror when the wind rustles the corn or disturbs the leaves” (175).

Moore provides a brief biographical sketch of Jacob Haun, who was born in New York and emigrated to Oregon in 1843 where he died in 1860. She identifies him and his wife as converts in New York, but “following the massacre his name does not appear in the records of the LDS church” (21 note 1).

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Jonathan Chamberlain and Bever-

ly Chamberlain. *"Happy Is the Man": A Social Biography of Thomas Chamberlain (1854–1918)*. Provo, Utah: Brigham Young University Printing Services, 2010. Photographs, notes, appendices, bibliography, index, CD-ROM

In the foreword, Jonathan Chamberlain explains that he and his late wife Beverly began this biography out of a "personal hunger" to become acquainted with Jonathan's grandfather, Thomas Chamberlain (ix). Jonathan's career was at BYU's Counseling Center and in the Educational Psychology Department. Beverly studied history as an undergraduate.

Although this is a family history, Thomas's intimate involvement in the Orderville United Order in southern Utah and plural marriage, both before and after the Manifesto, as well as his service as a bishop, counselor in a stake presidency, and patriarch make the material of interest to a broader audience. The biography is organized into forty-five chronological chapters and a final thematic chapter dealing with "seven great women"—Thomas's mother and six wives. Each of the chronological chapters covers a period of time from as short as a few weeks to as long as several decades, with most chapters covering about one year, although within a chapter the material may refer to an event outside the designated time frame to provide context. Footnotes with additional information and citations are found throughout the text.

The book describes Thomas Chamberlain's English roots and his

parents' conversion, marriage, immigration to the United States, and settlement in Tooele, Utah. While Thomas was a child, his father died; and his mother married John Gillespie not long before the family joined the movement south with other Church members wary of the advance of the U.S. Expedition in 1857. After that conflict was resolved, the family responded to a call from Church leaders to establish a cotton farm in the Muddy Mission, settling in St. Joseph in 1875. Thomas was ordained an elder at age sixteen. When the Muddy River settlements turned out to be over the state line in Nevada, the family moved back to Utah, settling in Long Valley. After the move, Thomas received his patriarchal blessing, which promised him "many wives and a large posterity" (36). Indeed, Thomas was sealed to his first two wives on the same day by Wilford Woodruff in the Salt Lake Endowment House.

Chapters 7–8 cover the beginning of Thomas's long involvement in the United Order in Mt. Carmel. After some divisions among the people, Thomas and others established a new United Order at Orderville in Kane County. The communal life of Orderville, which often began with rebaptism, left a strong impression on Thomas. In Orderville, Thomas married his third (1875), fourth (1879), and fifth (1883) wives, became ward bishop (1877), and was elected president of the United Order (1877), a position he held until

he was called as second counselor in the Kanab Stake presidency (June 9, 1884).

The Orderville Saints experienced water shortages, planned budgets, held conferences and elections, endured defections, and coped with intensifying difficulties as a result of anti-polygamy laws. The authors include, as context, a description of the Edmunds-Tucker Act (1887) and other polygamy-related legislation, as well as Wilford Woodruff's 1890 Manifesto withdrawing support for new plural marriages. While bishop, Thomas also had to decipher contradictory opinions of Church leaders about the future of the Orderville United Order in the face of criticism and talk of dissolution. Shortly after his call to the stake presidency, the Orderville United Order was disincorporated to protect its assets from seizure by the federal government (1885).

In 1887, Thomas became the first counselor in the Kanab Stake presidency. In the fall of 1888, Thomas was arrested for unlawful cohabitation, pled guilty, and served a prison term from December 1888 to May 1889, his sentence having been shortened in return for paying a \$300 fine. The book includes two letters from jail, one addressed to the Kanab Stake and another to his family.

After his release, Thomas returned to Orderville and continued his duties in the stake presidency as well as tending to his family, farm, and businesses. He was ordained a patriarch in 1895, moved to Kanab, en-

tered a secret marriage with a sixth wife, Mary Elizabeth Woolley in 1900 in Salt Lake City, and hid on the "underground," thereby neglecting his fruit farm and causing its failure. Chapter 44 focuses on Mary Woolley (who lived until 1953), and her experience in and opinions about polygamy. Thomas's death on March 17, 1918, the resolution of his estate, and some tributes to him are the subject of Chapter 45.

Three appendices provide information on geography, early happenings in Kanab, and the Muddy Mission. An accompanying CD-ROM contains 255 photos, many (if not all) of which appear throughout the text, a pedigree chart, family group sheets, and seven additional appendices containing Thomas Chamberlain's land transactions, a transcript of an Orderville ledger, biographical summaries about other individuals relevant to the biography, a partial list of descendants who served in the U.S. armed forces, a partial list of those who served LDS missions, an "incomplete" list of all descendants, and a Chamberlain Family Photo Gallery in .pdf format.

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Leslie Albrecht Huber. *The Journey Takers*. No city: Foundation Books, 2010. viii, 321 pp. Photographs, notes, maps, pedigree charts, bibliography, "About the Author." No index. Paper: \$19.95; ISBN 978-0-578-05214-4

*The Journey Takers*, awarded the Winchester Family and Commu-

nity History Award by the Mormon History Association, is organized in four parts, tracing Leslie Albrecht Huber's ancestry from the earliest documented forebears to her parents. At a critical point on each family line, an ancestor converted to Mormonism and became "a journey taker," leaving home country and family to replant himself or herself in the Mormon Zion. Simultaneously, it is the story of Huber's own journeys, literal and metaphoric, as she determinedly reconstructs her ancestors' lives and their social and cultural context.

This reconstruction was particularly challenging because none of these ancestors left memoirs, autobiographies, or even letters. Huber responded to this challenge with imaginative reconstructions (carefully labeled as such) about what they might have thought and felt and with segments of her personal story, including the challenges of doing library and on-site research with, eventually, three children.

Part 1 focuses on her earliest known German ancestors, Georg Albrecht and Mina Haker Albrecht. It is set in the context of Huber's first journey—three months in Germany the summer she was twenty-one and planning to marry David Huber. Georg, her paternal great-great-grandfather, was himself the grandson of her earliest documented ancestor, born in 1769. Both sides of the family were peasants. Mina Haker's family had lived in the same village "from the time the records began until the time my family left for America

and beyond that" (25). Huber describes how moved she was to touch the bowl that held water for christenings in the village church: "No one in my family has seen this church since the Albrechts left Germany. In fact, none of them even know about this place. I had to search through many rolls of microfilm to discover that Johann was born here. This information had fallen into the vastness of forgotten, unimportant history. Without warning, I feel my throat choke up" (31).

According to a family story, Georg met the missionaries in 1880 when he stopped a crowd from throwing rocks at the foreigners and took them home for the night. He, Mina, and their eight children emigrated that same year and went almost immediately to Manti where Georg, a mason, worked on the temple. Their lives continued to be hard, but in the small black-and-white photos, reproduced from a genealogy chart on the cover, Huber read "determination."

The journey-taker in Part 2 is Swedish: Kerstina ("Karsti") Nilsdotter, whose ancestors Huber was able to trace back two more generations (to about 1734). From Karsti's grandmother's will, Huber reconstructed much of their daily life, "down to the design on the bed-sheets" and the tools in the barn (90). Karsti joined the LDS Church (again, no details have survived) at age seventeen in 1861 and emigrated alone, the only member of her family to do so. "Sometimes I



imagine Kasti at Castle Garden,” writes Huber. “She stacks her luggage, which represents all her possessions, around her. She rolls up a piece of clothing and places it under her head. Then, she lies down on the hard floor” (130).

In Part 3, Edmond Harris, born in England, took the longest journey of all. Huber had more documents about him than most of her ancestors: “parish records, ship records, LDS Church records, census records, and others about him. I have copies of all sorts of documents that list his place and date of birth. On most of these, Edmond himself provided the information. He was very consistent, never wavering in what he said. The only problem was he was wrong” (156). In addition to sorting out persistent problems to establish his ancestry, Huber also discovered a first family who had disappeared completely from her own family’s memory. Edmond and his first wife, Eliza, joined the Church in London, probably in 1849, and embarked that same year for Australia.

When Perpetual Emigrating Funds became unavailable in 1855, Eliza and the two children went on ahead aboard the *Julia Ann*, which struck a reef in a storm and broke apart. Nearly all of the passengers were saved, including two-year-old Maria, but Eliza and her baby son were drowned. A Mormon couple who settled in Oakland took care of Maria; when Edmond passed through California two years later, he presumably found the family. “I can only

speculate about their meeting, about the discussion, about the decision. But one thing I do know: when Edmond arrived in Utah, it was without Maria” (183).

In Utah, he and Karsti married (date unknown but before 1864) and settled, first in Utah County, then in Gunnison. Their daughter Chasty married John Albrecht, Georg and Mina’s son. They moved to the even smaller town of Fremont, south of Gunnison, which became home to the next three generations of Huber’s ancestors.

Part 4 focuses on the Utah segment of Huber’s story with vivid details. “My grandpa never once changed a baby’s diaper. He never got up in the middle of the night when a baby cried. The only time he ever cooked was for lunch in the summer one day a week while my grandma worked at the bank. While my dad was on his mission . . . my grandpa didn’t write him one letter. Writing letters was for women” (247); however, when Huber’s Uncle Stan was born in a family of mostly girls, “my grandpa was so excited that he mopped every floor in the house—something he had never done before and never did again” (250).

Her grandparents pushed their children hard to get an education, knowing they could not make a living in Wayne County. Huber’s mother earned her doctorate “at Texas A&M as the mother of four children when I was in high school. She’s the only woman from Wayne

County to ever receive a PhD" (260). "My parents say Fremont is beautiful. . . . It's stunning, breathtaking perhaps, but not beautiful" (212).

Huber's research and the narratives she produced from it have as their goal "looking straight into the eyes of the past" (148).

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Penne D. Conrad. *Out of the Killing Fields, into the Light: Interviews with Mormon Converts from Cambodia*. Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort, 2011. vii, 119 pp. Photographs, illustrations, poem. Paper: \$9.99. ISBN 978-1-59955-525-6

*Out of the Killing Fields* is a collection of a dozen accounts from survivors who escaped the Khmer Rouge reign of terror in the mid-1970s. Each chapter tells of an individual's escape from the Cambodia jungle and his or her journey to America that eventually led to conversion to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Penne D. Conrad, who met the refugees while she was serving in the small Cambodian-speaking Park Branch in Long Beach, California, organized the collection. She served among these Cambodian Saints for fourteen years until her death on January 7, 2010. *Out of the Killing Fields* was still in manuscript form when she died and was prepared for publication by her son, Chad Conrad, who wrote the introduction.

Each account is given in the survivor's own words. Sokcheat Lee Stewart recalled her escape while pregnant with her second child:

It was worse than a nightmare. It was real. The Khmer Rouge controlled the country from 1975 to 1979. Then the Vietnamese communists came in, ran the Khmer Rouge out of the countryside, and took control from 1979 to 1993. . . . Our lives were in ruin. My dad said I had to take care of the family when he was gone, so I worked hard to do that. I learned how to fish, to build bamboo huts for us to live in, to do whatever was necessary to survive. . . . I couldn't bear the thought of raising a family under communist rule. . . . We would try to reach a United Nations refugee camp just across the border in Thailand. . . . We tried several times to breach the barbed-wire fence but failed (sometimes at the point of a gun). Going back to hide in the jungle was just as dangerous, for we were surrounded by Khmer Rouge soldiers, robbers, landmines, and wild animals (like mountain lions)—all threatening our destruction. (35)

Most survivors have similar stories. The new regime sought to create a purely agrarian society, purging any foreign or intellectual influence from Cambodia. The accounts reflect the chilling truth that anyone found with light skin, glasses, or even the ability to read or write, could be shot, beaten, or buried alive. "It was sad how much we had to use deception just to survive. Sometimes the truth kills," wrote Viseth Vann (49). With only one meal a day (rice water), the only option for survival was escape.

Sponsorship to America proved problematic for this "whole nation of slaves and refugees" (32). Many

members recall that their first impression of America was a drastic culture shock studded by gang violence, abusive husbands, and liberating divorce that began changing their current lives and past traditions. At the end of each chapter, the survivor shares a personal witness about God's guiding influence in his or her life that spared them from the horrors of the killing field and eventually led them to find comfort in the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints.

Kimsieng Sao, now a happy mother of three, shares her testimony:

The blessings I now enjoy as an American, a Mormon, a wife, and a mother, have all come to me because of our experiences that drove us from Cambodia. I know the Lord has had a plan for our lives, so I have no regrets. I have no doubt that there is an unseen power that shapes the destiny of our lives. I see the love of Heavenly Father and Jesus in everything around me. Since the day I was born, Heavenly Father gave me parents to lead me, guide me, and walk beside me. As bizarre and chaotic as my childhood was, I never knew it. As I was in the protective shadow of my mother, my world was safe and secure, and my faith in God was intact. He put strangers in our path to guide us through the darkest times into the light and safety. He gave me leaders who helped to shape my life and desires and groomed me into a leader myself. He took a scared, displaced little girl out of the Killing Fields of Cambodia and put me safely on the gospel path headed back to my heavenly home. I was lost but now I'm found—a willing and grateful sheep

in the Savior's sheepfold. Praise be to the Lord forever and ever! (72).

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Marianna Edwards Richardson. *Alfred Edersheim: A Jewish Scholar for the Mormon Prophets*. xxiii, 184 pp. Appendix, bibliography. Springville, Utah: Cedar Fort, 2008. Paper: \$14.99; ISBN 13: 978-1-59955-112-8

This book discusses Alfred Edersheim's contribution to Latter-day Saint culture. Possibly the most influential non-LDS scholar, Edersheim's writings "have been studied and quoted in LDS-related publications hundreds of times by a wide range of scholars" (xvii).

The book is divided into three parts: the life of Alfred Edersheim, the works of Alfred Edersheim, and the "LDS Perspective."

Richardson explains in Part 1 that "in order to understand the strength of Edersheim's testimony and the reason he influenced the heart and mind of LDS authors, we must first carefully examine his life" (1). Richardson briefly touches on themes such as his Jewish heritage, education, conversion to Christianity and constant search for a universal church, his trials including losing his wife, Mary, his travels due to ailing health, and a description of his published works.

Part 2 is "a concise discussion of the most fundamental concepts presented throughout Edersheim's writings. He wrote from the Jewish point of view while explaining the tradi-

tions and beliefs of the Old Testament and the temple ceremonies. Yet his recognition of their fulfillment is centered on the divinity of Jesus Christ" (37). Here, many topics are briefly discussed. Scripture such as Torah and the Septuagint, Sayings and Targumim, and Mishnah and Talmud, are defined. Edersheim claims that, from an early age, Jesus must have studied Hebrew scripture to be described as a child "in the Temple, sitting in the midst of the doctors, both hearing them and asking them questions" (Luke 2:46). Edersheim argues that this occasion at the temple was for Passover rites held in conjunction with a twelve-year-old boy's bar mitzvah (46).

Topics about the Jewish community are also explained such as the Sanhedrin and Rabbis, Pharisees and Sadducees, and the Essenes and Nationalists. Jewish life surrounding the temple is also illustrated. During the Feast of the Tabernacles the most sacred ceremonies were pouring water from golden pitchers into the altar and lighting the menorahs. At these occasions, Edersheim claims that Jesus declared himself "living water" (John 7:37–38) and "the light of the world" (John 8:12)—the promised Messiah and the glory or light of deity, Shechinah (91).

Part 3 gives a historical summary of important LDS scholars' use of Edersheim, focusing on B. H. Roberts, James E. Talmage, and Bruce R. McConkie. Richardson states, "Edersheim's view of Jewish prophecy fulfilled in Christ has placed an indelible

mark on LDS thought" (162). The book shows Edersheim's ideas continuously referenced in modern LDS culture.

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Dan Barker. *Unique Stories and Facts from LDS History*. Springville: CFI, 2010. viii, 164 pp. Notes, Paper: \$12.99. ISBN 978-1-59955-349-8

This book is a collection of quotations and stories from the writings and teachings of LDS "Church leaders and other inspired individuals" (viii) on 103 topics that deal with the Latter-day Saints and Church history. The book is organized alphabetically by topics, such as "Agriculture," "Apostolic Calling," "Business Ventures," "Haun's Mill Massacre," "Miracles," "Patriarchal Blessings," "Temples," and "United States Presidents." Dan Barker states: "This book is a great source of reference material for teaching my classes, for use in church, and for my family" (viii). Barker is also the author of *Leaders, Managers, and Blue Collar Perceptions* (Frederick, Md.: PublishAmerica Inc., 2009).

One of the longer topics is "Prophecy," which contains twenty-one prophecies from thirteen individuals, including Joseph Smith Jr., Brigham Young, and Heber C. Kimball. For example, Barker reports, George A. Smith "advised P[arley]. P[arker]. Pratt not to go to Arkansas but to go direct to Salt Lake, [and] take care of himself. He told Parley if he went to try to protect

Eleanor [McClain, Pratt's most recent plural wife] and her children, he would lose his life. But he did not take care of himself or take G. A. Smith's counsel, but went to Arkansas and was murdered by Mr. McClain" (123).

Barker includes the sources in which he found these stories. For example, George A. Smith's disregarded prophecy to Apostle Pratt comes from *Wilford Woodruff's Journal Excerpts*, edited by Ogden Kraut (Genola, Utah: Pioneer Publishing, n.d.), 109. Another of the larger topics is "Temples" and contains many facts and stories about temples from early Church history to the Preston England Temple, 2001. Barker includes the report by Apostle Marriner W. Merrill, president of the Logan Temple, of encountering and conversing with Satan (144) and such facts as "Brigham Young dedicated the basement and the first and second floors of the Nauvoo Temple on November 30, 1845. The third floor, where the endowments were given, was not dedicated until May of 1846. The following event happened on December 10: 'On December 10, the temple opened for sacred work. Early that morning, prior to the beginning of temple work, two Catholic officials toured the temple with, the Mormons hoped, the intent to purchase the structure. Later that afternoon, invitations were extended only to those who could produce receipts for their payment of tithes in full'" (145).

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Seth Sorensen. *The Utah Story: The People, Places, and Events That*

*Shaped Our State*. Springville, Utah: Bonneville Books, 2011. v, 118 pp. Photographs, maps, timeline, index. Cloth: \$14.99; ISBN 978-1-59955-473-0

This coffee-table-style book traces the history and culture of Utah from prehistoric times when dinosaurs roamed the Utah desert to 2002 and the Winter Olympic Games (v-viii). Using pictures and providing short descriptions of events, Sorensen has created a book that highlights major people and places that are relevant to the history of Utah.

Chapters 1 and 2 cover from the Mesozoic, Jurassic, and Cretaceous periods dominated by dinosaurs until the Ice Age. Chapters 3-6 cover Utah's early settlement period by the Shoshone, Goshute, Ute, Paiute, and Navajos, followed by the early Spanish explorations of Escalante and Dominguez. Chapter 5 provides information on trappers and explorers (such as Jim Bridger, John C. Fremont, and John Wesley Powell), while Chapter 6 gives a brief description of the Mormon pioneers.

Chapters 7-10 outline events that led to Utah's becoming a state (for example, writing the state constitution), building the transcontinental railroad (the eastbound and westbound portions met at Promontory Summit in 1869), biographical sketches of seven famous Utahns (for example, Butch Cassidy, Martha Hughes Cannon, and Jedediah S. Smith), and such conflicts as the Walker War that "likely began with a

July 1853 confrontation between settlers in Springville and Walkara's tribe members, which resulted in the death of several young tribesmen" (59) and the Utah War (1857–58), in which the U.S. Army invaded the territory but which terminated with a relatively low-casualty resolution.

Chapter 11 provides information on Utah's twelve colleges and universities, while Chapter 12 is about the landmark 2002 Winter Olympic Games.

The next four chapters describe Utah's geography with chapters on mining, national parks, and the topography of Utah's twenty-nine counties. Sorensen concludes his book with a five-page timeline that provides an overview of Utah from 225 million B.C. to A.D. 2002.

In creating this book, Sorensen uses illustrations on every page, for an approximate total of 300–500. Each section provides a myriad of pictures ranging from ancient artifacts and digital images of prehistoric animals to photographs of geological formations found in the state's national parks and monuments. The cover, pictures, and color of paper that is the backdrop for the black print are all a faded red/orange that represents the red-rock formations characteristic of southern Utah's plateaus and mountain valleys. For example, "The Ice Age" displays photographs of a bighorn sheep, musk ox, American bison, giant ground sloth, camel, and skull of a saber-toothed cat, all of them superimposed over the backdrop of red-rock-style paper (11).

In addition to the images are brief descriptions (usually between 200 and 300 words) in each section. In "Famous Utahns," Sorensen comments: "[Butch] Cassidy did not always live such an honest life. He put together a gang he called the Wild Bunch and began robbing banks and trains throughout the west. Cassidy's gang used a hideout in southeastern Utah called Robbers Roost to make their plans and to hide from the law. Eventually the law closed in on Cassidy and his gang" (49). In describing Utah's quest for statehood, Sorensen notes that a state capitol was partially constructed in Fillmore, close to the geographic center of the state, but after "one full legislative session in the new statehouse . . . it was time to move. . . . Salt Lake City became the state capitol [sic] of the newly formed state [sic; Utah didn't become a state until 1896], and remains the capitol [sic] to this day" (43).

In "Utah's National Treasures," Sorensen describes the Escalante National Monument. It "is located in the south-central part of the state. The Grand Staircase is nearly 2,968 square miles in area. This is the youngest of Utah's national treasures and was created in 1996 by President Bill Clinton. The Monument was controversial from the start. The creation ceremony was held at Grand Canyon National Park in Arizona, and not in the state of Utah. The Utah legislators and governor were only notified 24 hours in advance. This was seen



by many as a way to gain votes for President Clinton in the state of Arizona" (88).

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Davis Bitton. *Knowing Brother Joseph Again: Perceptions and Perspectives*. Salt Lake City: Greg Kofford Books, 2010. ii, 369 pp. Bibliography, index, notes. Paperback: \$25.95. ISBN 978-158958-123-4

This collection of essays represents Davis Bitton's last words on Joseph Smith, or more accurately, the image of Joseph Smith. In 1996 Bitton published *Images of the Prophet Joseph Smith*, the precursor to this book; when its publisher went out of business, Greg Kofford Books approached Bitton about creating an updated version. The project was partially finished when Bitton's health failed, and remained so upon his death in 2007. With the participation of his wife, JoAn Bitton, the project was finished.

In each chapter, Bitton investigates a different way of seeing Joseph Smith, beginning with "Joseph Smith as Hero," in which he examines accounts of Smith through the lens of multiple scholarly criteria for heroism. Bitton turns next to "Joseph as Prophet," focusing on the characteristics of prophets from the Book of Mormon as a point of comparison. Next, he considers Joseph's commonalities with external prophetic archetypes.

An analysis of folk memories of both Joseph's friends and enemies

follows. Three chapters are spent on Smith's martyrdom: one on the public response to the murders, one on the Saints' journal entries and letters concerning the event, and one on their poetry of lamentation. In one of the most interesting chapters, Bitton discusses the apotheosis of the Prophet after his death, along with the strong parallels his followers drew between his martyrdom and the death of Christ. Finally, the various scholarly approaches to Smith's history are unpacked and evaluated.

Bitton allows himself the most freedom in his epilogue, which encapsulates his personal evaluation of the views of Joseph Smith: "Back in the days before the corruption of our language, before the flattening of our reality into a stark, naturalistic, horizontal plane, there used to be a name for the leap, the signing onto something magnificently demanding and all-encompassing, the living out of something as if it were true, the growing conviction of the reality of things hoped for, things unseen. It used to be called faith" (140).

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Richard Neitzel Holzapfel and Kent P. Jackson. *Joseph Smith: The Prophet and Seer*. Provo, Utah: BYU Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2010. v, 554 pp. Photographs, index, acknowledgements. Hardcover: \$29.99. ISBN 978-0-8425-2753-8

*Joseph Smith: The Prophet and Seer* is



\$29.99. ISBN 978-0-8425-2753-8

*Joseph Smith: The Prophet and Seer* is an anthology of eighteen chapters (including the introduction) which describes Smith's life from 1805 to 1844. The dust jacket says: "Each presenter is either on the Religious Education faculty at BYU or is part of the team preparing the landmark *Joseph Smith Papers*. These fine scholars look at Joseph Smith with fresh eyes, both mining old evidence and new discoveries to show who the Prophet was, what he accomplished, and why his life matters. . . . Two introductory chapters focus on his early life, 1805–19, and the early years of the Restoration, 1820–29. Each chapter thereafter focuses on a specific year of his ministry from 1830–1844."

The introduction by Kent P. Jackson and Richard Holzapfel discusses the challenges of reconstructing Smith's life, the book's emphasis on "contemporary primary sources" (xv), and the history of recording and evaluating Smith's biography. The authors have sought a balance between portraying Joseph with his human weaknesses and portraying the inspirational aspects of his life.

The book's first chapter, by Richard Neitzel Holzapfel, covers 1805–19, and Joseph's geographical and religious environment. Next, Richard E. Bennett describes 1820–29. The emphasis in Bennett's chapter is that Smith, Martin Harris, and Oliver Cowdery lived gospel principles such as repentance. Examples are drawn from Moroni's visitations to Smith and the process of translating the

Book of Mormon.

Next, Kent P. Jackson covers 1830 and the New Translation of the Bible. He clarifies translation as meaning inspiration. Rather than using Greek and Hebrew texts, as in a traditional translation, Smith drew upon the Holy Ghost, who inspired the biblical writers. The translation consisted of different categories such as revised wording and unique added material. Its purpose was to "restore lost . . . text," "restore teachings . . . not ever recorded in the Bible," improve readability, "correct errors," or clarify the text for "modern readers" (60).

The year 1831, writes Grant Underwood, is one that saw Joseph's receipt of "28 percent of the canonized revelations" (78). Many of these revelations concern gathering to Ohio and to Zion (Missouri), consecration, the Sabbath, and missionary service. Underwood also uses Section 107 as an example of how many of Smith's revelations prior to the publication of the 1835 Book of Commandments were heavily redacted and clarified to represent an up-to-date understanding of Church measures with Smith using "inspiration to refine and polish the revelations" (98).

Doctrine and Covenants 76 and the year 1832 are covered by Robert Woodford. This chapter discusses various aspects of "The Vision" including the three degrees of glory and a large section on what it means to be valiant in the testimony of Jesus.

Grant Underwood describes the year 1833 with an emphasis on the Word of Wisdom and the Kirtland Temple. He also elucidates the history behind the Saints' expulsion from Jackson County, Missouri. Underwood stresses how Smith struggled to receive revelation that would help him and the Saints understand why the Church in Missouri had failed in its goal of establishing Zion and what lessons the Saints learned as they coped with unfulfilled hopes.

Alexander L. Baugh describes 1834 and Smith's busy schedule, which included Zion's Camp, the organization of high councils, Philastus Hurlbut's trial, how Joseph terminated the United Firm, prophecies concerning Church growth, the incorporation of "The Church of the Latter-day Saints" into the Church's name, Joseph Smith's publishing duties, and his patriarchal blessing. Next, J. Spencer Fluhman explains the year 1835 with its organization of the Quorum of the Twelve and the Seventy. He also describes the evolution of meaning for "endowment" and "sealing."

Steven Harper writes about 1836 and describes Doctrine and Covenants 88 and 107, "entering into the Lord's presence" (237), "the redemption of the dead" (242), the Kirtland Temple dedication, and the "keys" of the kingdom. Ronald K. Esplin and Alexander Baugh describe 1837 and 1838 respectively. These chapters describe Smith's time in Liberty Jail, the apostasy of Oliver Cowdery and many other leaders, the apostolic mission to

England, and the 1838 Mormon War in Missouri. Baugh also addresses misconceptions about "Adam's Altar" at Tower Hill.

William G. Hartley details 1839, a year that began with the Saints' forced exodus from Missouri, giving special attention on the middle period between the exodus and their arrival at Nauvoo. Among other consequences of the exodus, Hartley lists the future Mormon friendliness to the hospitable citizens of Quincy, stronger faith in those who endured these trials, a resolve to gather, sickness in Nauvoo, and preparation for another 1846 exodus.

The year 1840 is covered by Ronald O. Barney. Barney tells of Smith's visit to Washington, D.C., to seek help from President Martin Van Buren, and Joseph Smith's subsequent disappointment at the rejection of his plea. The year 1841 and the Nauvoo Temple are described by Richard Holzapfel. Here Smith is described as administering temple revelatory keys and teaching on how to detect true or false angels.

Andrew Hedges and Alex D. Smith depict 1842 as a troubling year for Smith as he dealt with the apostasy of John C. Bennett and an accusation of complicity when a would-be assassin attacked Missouri's former Governor Lilburn Boggs. The chapter which describes 1843 is called "Doctrines, Covenants, and Sweet Consolations." In it, Robert L. Millet emphasizes eternal marriage, making one's calling and election sure, and how temple covenants link

children and parents.

“The Prophet’s Final Charge to the Twelve” concludes this anthology. In it, Holzapfel describes Smith’s campaign for the presidency of the United States, his establishment of

the “Kingdom of God” (503), a notable vision he experienced of the Nauvoo Temple, the conferral of the “fulness of the priesthood” (506), and his parting statements to the Twelve (514).

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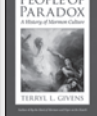
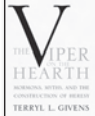
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